



CANCER

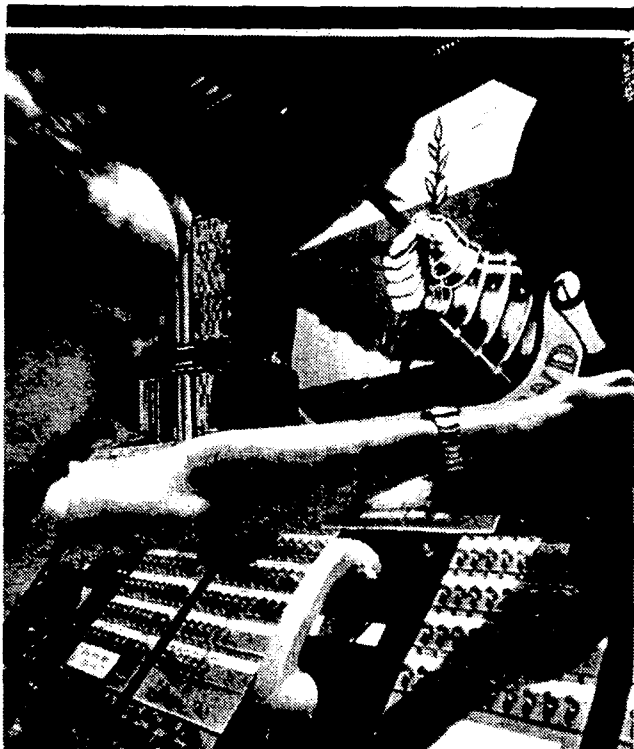
as a way
of life

Unfriendly Skies

Can Reagan bust
the union?



THE INSIDE STORY



A single nuclear explosion in outer space could disrupt the military's electronic systems.

Communications are the weak link

By John Judis

On July 8, 1962, the United States detonated a 1.4 megaton hydrogen bomb 248 miles above Johnson Island in the Pacific. Eight hundred miles away, in Hawaii, street lights went out, burglar alarms went off and power lines broke down. A year later American physicists at the Rand Corporation had discovered why: the explosion had set off what they called an "electromagnetic pulse" that could potentially wreak havoc on communications systems within a several thousand mile radius of an atmospheric nuclear explosion. The military implications were startling: a single Soviet nuclear bomb exploded 200 miles above Nebraska could knock out communications equipment throughout the U.S.

Debates about nuclear strategy usually concern the number, size, accuracy and vulnerability of weapon systems. Often overlooked is the question of what military strategists call "command, control, and communications," or "C³." Perfectly working communications are not necessary to a strategy of deterrence—the enemy need only assume, for instance, that the word gets through to a few weapons systems out of an arsenal of thousands of planes, submarines and land-based silos. But it is an essential ingredient to the kind of limited-war strategy endorsed by the Carter and Reagan administrations. "We need to maintain forces able to survive a Soviet attack and deal a victory-denying counterblow while maintaining significant forces in reserve, assuming that we have command and control to operate these forces," Carter's Defense Secretary Harold Brown acknowledged in 1981.

In a three-part series in the May and June issues of *Science* magazine, William J. Broad explores the effect of electromagnetic pulse on nuclear communications. His summary of current findings should give pause to advocates of limited war.

April fools.

Electromagnetic pulse (EMP) is created by any nuclear explosion in outer space. The explosion emits gamma rays that hit air in the upper atmosphere and dislodge electrons that emit EMP, which radiates over thousands of miles and is easily picked up by any antenna or cable.

The dangers of EMP to communications systems were not really appreciated until the 1970s. Most older communications equipment, which employed vacuum tubes rather than transistors, was immune to the effects

of EMP. This is why the telephone system in Hawaii was not affected by the 1962 H-bomb explosion. But the new communications systems created by the semiconductor revolution are highly sensitive to EMP.

The current communications system between the president and the strategic nuclear forces relies on semiconductor technology. The Soviet Union could therefore knock out these communications facilities by exploding one bomb in outer space prior to a nuclear attack on the U.S.

Suggestions about the vulnerability of the communications system came last year during congressional hearings on a new Strategic Satellite System (SSS). Air Force Secretary Hans Mark suggested that the advantage of the new system over the 43 existing means of imparting an "Emergency Action Message" (EAM) was that the "SSS is more certain to survive a full-scale nuclear exchange."

Mark was asked whether he was implying that the existing 43 means might not survive. "The others are less survivable," he replied.

The Pentagon's communications specialist, Gerald P. Dinneen insisted at a congressional hearing that any discussions of EMP's effect should be closed, because it might cast doubt upon American abilities to respond to a Soviet first strike and therefore "reduce the deterrent."

Doubts about EMP's effects were a major reason for the abandonment of the Safeguard anti-ballistic missile facilities in North Dakota that were designed to release 100 missiles against Soviet missiles in the event of an attack. These missiles would hit the Soviet missile with a nuclear warhead when it was still well over 150 miles above ground. Defense planners later realized that the explosions of the ABM missiles could inadvertently knock out the American communications system.

They also realized that the ABM's communications system was itself subject to EMP sabotage. The ABM system was declared operational on April Fools Day, 1975, and sacked 10 months later.

Total blackout.

But EMP would not simply affect military communications. It would also affect the operation of airplanes, missile systems, televisions, computers, watches, radios, telephones and household appliances that use semiconductor technology. An explosion now over the central U.S. could create a near-total blackout.

Military planners have moved in two different directions to protect against EMP. First, they have tried to "harden" existing communications and military systems by shielding them with steel and other EMP-resistant metals and even by replacing transistors with the old vacuum-tube technology. Second, they have called for the increased use of communications satellites.

It remains unclear whether the various methods of hardening communications cables or airplane instruments will work, since they can only be tested in simulated circumstances. "There is no such thing as proving statistically that a communications system has a particularly low probability of damage from EMP," a former Bell System official declared. "The simulations are just that, simulations."

One EMP specialist with the Federal Emergency Management Agency has acknowledged that tests conducted on the Bell System's Autovon network, a high-priority government communications system that Bell declared "nuclear bombproof," showed extensive damage from EMP. "We know how to protect to a certain extent," James W. Kerr said, "but the EMP problem is not susceptible to cure."

The alternative is communication satellites. Their use has been delayed, Broad claims, by what he calls the "marriage of Ma Bell and the military." The Pentagon has continued to rely on Bell's ground system rather than employ the satellite systems of Bell's competitors.

But doubts also exist about the feasibility of a satellite system, whose use in nuclear weapons communication has barely been tested. The same high-altitude explosions that create EMP could also create ionospheric disturbances that would prevent satellite signals from reaching the earth.

The Soviet Union is supposed to have known about EMP before the U.S. did. Defense experts charge that Soviet atmospheric testing in 1961 and 1962 was specifically designed to test the effects of EMP and that Soviet willingness to sign a test-ban treaty rested on the assumption that they had derived more from prior tests than the U.S. had.

In 1976 Soviet awareness of EMP was dramatically confirmed when a Russian MIG-25 was flown to Japan by a Soviet defector. The airplane, described by one American defense official as "probably the best interceptor in the world today," contained along with the most advanced engines, a steel rather than titanium hull and vacuum tubes instead of transistors. There was only one explanation: the Soviet Union had tried to harden the jet against EMP.

War without controls.

The discovery of EMP has created a heated debate within the American defense establishment. Some defense analysts see EMP as proof that limited nuclear war plans are futile. Brookings Institution defense analyst John Steinbruner wrote that "regardless of the flexibility embodied in individual force components, the precariousness of command channels probably means that nuclear war would be uncontrollable, as a practical matter, shortly after the first tens of weapons are launched."

Testifying before Congress, Steinbruner argued that "enough protection can probably be provided to plant serious uncertainty in the mind of an attacker contemplating a strategy based on electromagnetic pulse effects. Feasible protection is likely to fall well short, however, of what would be required to have unquestionable assurance that strategic invulnerability had been achieved."

On the other side, some defense experts cite EMP in calling for new atmospheric testing in order to discover whether the American communications systems can be hardened to withstand an outer space explosion. "EMP is an important question in discussing what to do about forbidding weapon tests inside and outside the atmosphere," hydrogen bomb inventor Edward Teller remarked.

When the Senate approved the limited test ban treaty in 1963, it passed what were called the "Jackson safeguards" after Washington Sen. Henry Jackson. According to Jackson, one of these safeguards was "the maintenance of the facilities and resources necessary to resume promptly atmospheric testing should it be deemed essential to our national security or should the treaty be abrogated by others."

In line with this, the Defense Nuclear Agency maintains at a yearly cost of \$11 million a small atoll in the middle of the Pacific on which 165 people stand prepared, in case atmospheric testing is resumed, to measure EMP effects.

In the next issue, John Judis reports on another weak link in military communications, shore-to-submarine transmissions.

IN THESE TIMES

The Independent Socialist Newspaper

Published 42 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, fourth week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June, July and August by The Institute for Policy Studies, Inc., 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60622, (312) 489-4444. Institute for Policy Studies National Offices, 1901 Q Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20009.

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This issue (Vol. 5, No. 32) published August 12, 1981, for newsstand sales August 12-25, 1981.

A punitive immigration plan

By Bill Blum

LOS ANGELES

DECLARING THAT THE NATION has lost control of its borders, Attorney General William French Smith unveiled the Reagan administration's plan to revise American immigration policy before a joint congressional hearing on July 30. The plan calls for the creation of a foreign guest-worker program, a limited amnesty for undocumented aliens living in the U.S. and a series of measures to curb unauthorized immigration in the future.

"We shall continue America's tradition as a land that welcomes peoples from other countries," French Smith informed the House and Senate subcommittees on immigration. "At the same time, in so doing, we must not encourage additional illegal immigration."

Despite the attorney general's egalitarian rhetoric, the Reagan plan appears on close inspection to be decidedly slanted in favor of American business interests. If enacted, it would work as follows:

- **Amnesty:** Aliens living in the U.S. before January 1, 1980 would be granted "renewable-term temporary resident status." Their renewable three-year visas would allow them to work and require them to pay taxes, but would preclude their receiving welfare, food stamps or unemployment insurance. After 10 years of continuous residence, the temporary residents could apply for permanent resident status provided they demonstrate minimal proficiency in the English language and they are not otherwise "excludable" (that is, statutorily ineligible for admission due to past crimes, political affiliations, homosexuality and so on under the Immigration Act). During the 10-year waiting period, temporary residents would not be permitted to bring their spouses or minor children into the country. Labor Department officials estimate that approximately 6 million aliens could qualify for the program.

- **Guest Workers:** Up to 50,000 Mexican guest workers a year would be admitted under a two-year pilot program. If successful, the program would be expanded and made permanent. Much of the inspiration for a guest-worker pro-

The Coast Guard would intercept boats from Haiti.



These Salvadorans taken into custody in Texas are among the hundreds seeking political asylum.

gram came from the Republican governor of Texas, William Clements, a long-time advocate of stringent immigration laws.

- **Employer Sanctions:** To discourage the future hiring of aliens who fail to qualify either as temporary residents or as guest workers, the plan would prohibit employers from knowingly hiring unauthorized alien workers. Civil fines of \$500 to \$1,000 would be imposed for each offense. The sanctions would apply to businesses with four or more employees. In addition, employers would have a good-faith defense to any charges of illegal hiring simply by requesting and inspecting any two of the following documents: a Social Security card, a driver's license, a U.S. birth certificate or a draft card issued by the Selective Service

System. The idea of creating a national identity card for all Americans has apparently been rejected.

- **Refugee Policy:** Cuban and Haitian refugees in the U.S. prior to January 1, 1981 would be permitted to apply for temporary status. After five years, they would become eligible for permanent residence, providing they, like other temporary aliens, are not excludable and can speak English. To prevent further influxes of boat people from the Caribbean, the plan would authorize the Coast Guard to intercept refugee vessels on the high seas and return them to their countries of origin. The plan also advocates expedited administrative procedures for deciding whether refugees who manage to enter the U.S. should be granted political asylum. The new procedures would pre-

Rights. "To the extent that undocumented workers come out of hiding and apply for these temporary permits, they will become a captive labor force, subject to even greater exploitation than they are presently. Business interests stand to make a windfall."

Schey is equally adamant in his condemnation of the guest-worker proposal, which he likens to the infamous Bracero Program (1942 to '64), under which Mexican nationals were admitted to the U.S. to perform seasonal work for subsistence wages. "A formalized temporary worker program," he argues, "would depress wages and working conditions in sectors of the market that import the workers. It would harm both native and foreign labor."

The Reagan plan has also provoked the ire of civil liberties groups, who fear that the presence of employer sanctions will result in discrimination against all Hispanics, even those who are U.S. citizens and permanent residents. As Southern California ACLU Executive Director Ramona Ripston sees it, "Under the Reagan plan, employers would be reluctant to hire persons of foreign appearance for fear of being prosecuted."

Not all the criticism of the plan has come from liberal quarters. Many conservative and moderate organizations have derided the president's decision not to recommend a national identity card. The California Farm Bureau Federation, for example, has stated that it will oppose any employer sanctions unless some improved form of worker identification is developed. Even the *New York Times*, in an editorial run 10 days before the plan was officially announced, has urged Reagan to endorse the concept of a "counterfeit-resistant permit for all workers."

Despite such vocal opposition, the administration is determined to move forward with the plan in its present form. It is currently in the hands of the Senate's judiciary subcommittee on immigration and refugee affairs. Chaired by Sen. Alan K. Simpson (R-Wyo.), a leading proponent of tougher immigration laws, the committee intends to hold hearings in September and to move the issue to a floor vote by November.

In the meantime, immigration activists will attempt to mount a countercampaign, hoping that the Reagan plan meets the same fate as the Carter administration's 1977 amnesty proposal, which failed to move beyond committee. Given Reagan's extraordinary influence over Congress, however, they face an uphill struggle.

Bill Blum is a lawyer in Los Angeles.

Instead of amnesty, Reagan proposes a 10-year stint of paying taxes without receiving benefits.

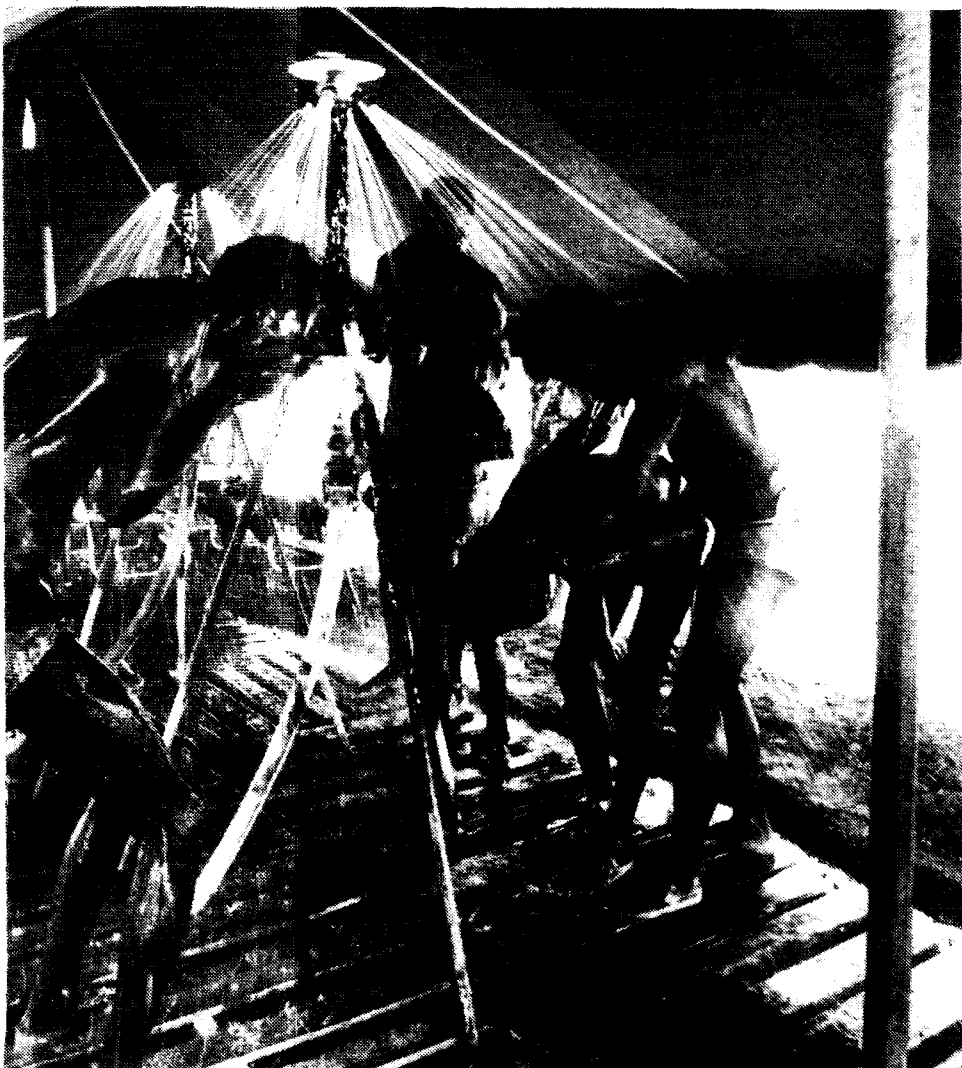
sumably apply to the thousands of Salvadorans currently seeking asylum here.

In addition, the Reagan plan suggests raising the annual legal immigration quotas for Mexico and Canada to 40,000 each, with any unused visas transferable to the other. But the administration also wants Congress to approve \$40 million for new enforcement measures, including additional border patrol agents and the construction of new detention centers to house aliens arriving without visas.

Adverse Reception.

Reaction to the Reagan plan from Latino leaders and immigration activists has been uniformly negative. Rep. Edward R. Roybal (D-CA), chairman of the congressional Hispanic Caucus, denounced the president's proposals, charging: "Those who have been living and working in this country without legal papers are being forced under this plan to live in a sub-class referred to as 'renewable term temporary resident.' By refusing to allow their spouses and children to join them here, the plan discourages family reunification, which has been the traditional foundation of our immigration policy."

Other Reagan critics view the plan as an attempt to extend supply-side economics to immigration matters. "There is no doubt that Reagan is using the issue of immigration reform as a vehicle to advance his pro-corporate economic agenda," contends Peter Schey, director of the National Center for Immigrant's



IN SHORT

Rough draft

The Selective Service has been in a particularly selective mood of late. Out of at least 500,000 draft-registration resisters, it chose in June to send letters to some 155, who were warned to register or else. Some of the chosen few were outspoken opponents of registration; others reportedly were turned in by the parents of young men who had signed up. In July the Selective Service gave the Justice Department the names of 134 nonregistrants who didn't heed the initial warning and who now face up to five years in jail and \$10,000 fine. "The government letters represent a mere scare tactic," said Matt Nicodemus, 21, who was supposed to register, but didn't, in July 1980. "By prosecuting a handful of resisters, they hope to intimidate half a million."

"You gotta start somewhere," shrugged John Russell, a Justice Department spokesman. While denying Nicodemus' charges, Russell would not explain how—or whether—the government could prosecute and jail such a large number of potential felons.

One of the government's problems is how to find all the violators. It would like to burrow into the records of the IRS and Social Security system—a practice prohibited by the Privacy Act of 1974—and play connect-the-dots to the Social Security number. (The Selective Service is currently appealing a class-action suit, won recently by the ACLU, that upheld the right of all registrants to withhold their Social Security numbers.)

Plowsharers jailed

On July 28, Daniel and Philip Berrigan and six other religious activists were sentenced to prison terms ranging from one to 15 years. Taking their name from a biblical injunction to beat weapons into plowshares, the "Plowshares Eight" broke into a General Electric plant in King of Prussia, Pa., last September and damaged nose cones destined for nuclear missiles (*In These Times*, March 18). Presiding Judge Samuel Salus will be portrayed by Martin Sheen in an upcoming movie, *In the King of Prussia*, in which the Plowshares Eight, playing themselves, re-enact their break-in and subsequent trial. In real life, all the sentences will be appealed.

In cold type

Just last December the U.S. representative to the Madrid Review Conference on the Helsinki accords blasted Czechoslovakia for banning the "open sale" of Western journals and preventing individual citizens from subscribing to them. Then, in May of this year, the U.S. Customs Department began impounding all newspapers and magazines bound from Cuba to mailboxes in this country. Without tipping off most of the interested parties ahead of time, the Reagan administration had decided to reactivate a 1963 regulation—unenforced for the better part of two decades—that aims to keep U.S. dollars out of Fidel's hands. To get the latest copy of *Granma* through the mail, you must now sign a sworn statement that the importation "will have no economic or commercial advantage to Cuba or any Cuban national," upon which you will be granted a special license.

People are objecting to the policy—primarily on First Amendment grounds, but also because it doesn't make sense economically. Harold Mayerson, coordinator of legal efforts to reverse or modify the licensing program, pointed out that the amount Cuba gets for the subscriptions is minuscule compared to the tens of millions of dollars that tourists from the U.S. spend in that country each year. And during their stay, those tourists are free to spend up to \$100 on Cuban periodicals that they must now be licensed to receive at home—even if the materials are free. Displeasure at the policy may be expressed to the Office of the Secretary of the Treasury, Washington, D.C. 20220.

Less than perfect

In the August issue of the *Critical Mass Energy Journal*, the Nader-affiliated Critical Mass Energy Project says that there were more than 3,800 mishaps at nuclear power plants in 1980—up 65 percent from the year before. Richard Udell, the study's author, emphasized that the Nuclear Regulatory Commission and the nuclear industry have been slow to learn from experience in operating the plants. "Nuclear technology demands 100 percent accuracy for thousands of years," Udell added. "Needless to say, neither people nor the machinery they design and build are perfect." The study attributes 20 percent of last year's mishaps to human error, 16 percent to design or fabrication error and 57 percent to equipment failures.

—Josh Kornbluth

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Postal workers have waited as long as 10 years for a complaint to make it through the grievance system.

Postal contract is far from signed, sealed, delivered

As the details of the proposed postal service contract have become known by union members throughout the country, opposition has grown steadily. Discontent is especially strong in the American Postal Workers Union (APWU), which jointly negotiated a contract with the National Association of Letter Carriers covering 500,000 of the 600,000 postal employees.

John Richards, director of industrial relations at APWU and president of the Pittsburgh local, was one of two executive board members to vote against the proposed agreement. Richards criticized the \$300 pay raise in each year as "anemic," but was particularly distressed at the introduction of cash bonuses (\$1,200 over the duration of the contract, including a \$150 bonus for ratifying the contract) that are described as linked to productivity. Bonuses don't become part of the pay scale. The union has traditionally argued that the nature of the postal service makes pay linked to productivity less justifiable than in manufacturing industries.

By deferring until October 1984 the "roll-in" of \$3.615 in cost-of-living adjustments paid during the past contract period into the salary base, the civil service retirement fund will lose \$760 million in payments from workers in the postal service that are linked to base pay increases. Richards attacked that as "very dangerous tinkering with a retirement system that's already under attack," and thought it could contribute to the demise of the entire civil service retirement system.

On the many non-economic matters important to postal employees, (*In These Times*, July 15), Richards saw "no movement" in the contract. There was a minor modification in handling of health and safety grievances. But general reform of the grievance system—which now has a backlog of 13,000 cases dating back as far as 10 years—has been left to a committee that will report 60 days after the contract is ratified.

Contract critics also cite the union's failure to obtain the right to refuse unsafe work, the principle of innocence until guilt is proven, and amnesty for postal workers fired during wildcat strikes at the end of the last contract. "I don't see anything in this contract that addresses our major problems," Richards said.

Although the Rural Letter Carriers settled separately, the fourth postal union—the Mailhandlers division of the Laborers—sent its contract to arbitration in hopes of better terms.

Local APWU leaders in important cities such as Boston, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Denver, Oakland, Detroit and St. Louis; state leaders in many areas such as Washington and Arkansas; and numerous less powerful officials throughout the country, except the Great Plains and Mountain states, have urged members to vote no. Postal workers have received their mail-in referendum ballots, which are supposed to be tallied by Aug. 24. If the contract is rejected, as it was three years ago, the union must return to the bargaining table for at least 15 days before a strike can be called.

—David Moberg

Health director sues for old job

GOLDEN, COLO.—Dr. Carl Johnson knew something was amiss when, in late April, his boss asked him out to lunch for the first time in eight years. Sure enough, Dr. Otto Bebbler, president of the Jefferson County Health Board, told Johnson that the board and the county commissioners were upset. He urged Johnson to resign his post as director of the Jefferson County Health Department or risk being fired and losing his benefits. Johnson did submit his resignation; but now he is suing for reinstatement, charging that the commissioner-

appointed health board is riddled with conflicts of interest.

County officials claim that Johnson's dismissal was the result of his opinionated obstinacy, his poor administrative abilities and his spending too much time out of the office speaking about and presenting scientific papers on the hazards of low-level radiation.

Dr. Johnson's supporters—including many doctors, nurses and lawyers on the Citizens Health Committee—see the board's action as one more example of how thoroughly developers control Colorado's most populous county and how little they care about perils the health director kept bringing to people's attention—chiefly the possibility of plutonium contamination in the soil downwind from the Rocky Flats Nuclear Weapons plant just 16 miles from downtown Denver.

The soft-spoken, 51-year-old Johnson seems an unlikely focus of so much controversy. Yet, in the past six years he has challenged county, state and federal officials and built a reputation as a crusader who can't be intimidated when he thinks he's right.

Johnson's research began in late 1974 when the county commissioners routinely asked if there were reasons they should not rezone as residential a square mile of agricultural land just east of the bomb-trigger plant. Johnson was no radiation specialist, but he checked out the state's surveys and learned that the site was highly contaminated. He urged the reluctant commissioners to await more detailed analyses before rezoning or approving new subdivisions in the area.

Powerful critics honed in on Johnson. The state health director and the health officer at the Rocky Flats plant challenged the doctor's sampling methods and called his research into question.

Over the next few years, Johnson reiterated his first report and went a good deal further. His samples showed that plutonium contamination near the plant was as much as 3,390 times the worldwide level caused by fallout from bomb tests. Eleven months ago he announced his findings that the rate of cancer was inordinately higher among Flats workers.

Those conclusions frightened homeowners and homebuilders, and they directed their complaints at local officials, sparking a campaign to discredit Johnson and have him fired.

Dr. Bebbler himself owns 20 acres in the contaminated area. And another board member who voted against Johnson, Richard Newman, owned a chemical recycling plant just south of the bomb-trigger plant that burned to the ground two years ago. Dr. Johnson had initiated the EPA investigations into the fire that led to a meeting—just a few days before he was fired—between Newman, EPA officials and the state health department to discuss possible water contamination originating on or near the site of Newman's company. Yet Newman denied having a conflict of interest.

Even Johnson's supporters admit that he can be abrasive, and most feel he was a weak administrator. But Joanne Paterson, a former county commissioner, said, "The reason they're getting rid of him is because he was looking at what nobody else wanted to look at.... Believe me, there are a lot of lousy administrators in the country, but they don't get fired."

—Timothy Lange

IN THE NATION

LABOR

Reagan gets tough in PATCO strike

By David Moberg

PRESIDENT REAGAN'S HARD-line effort to break the strike by 13,000 unionized air traffic controllers immediately put the remainder of the American labor movement to a test it did not relish: combatting a union-busting President on behalf of an illegal and not widely popular or well-understood strike.

Even as it was planning a massive "Solidarity Day," the executive council of the AFL-CIO deliberated over how it could express solidarity with the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO). AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland attacked Reagan's response as "harsh and brutal overkill" that, contrary to the president's rhetoric, "put the government very heavily on the backs of some very decent, honest, responsible working people."

Eventually the majority of the executive council members took off their noon hour during the third day of meetings in Chicago to join picketers at the traffic control terminal at O'Hare airport. Although Kirkland said that he would not cross a picket line and suggest that he would—as many other union officials also pledged to do—make alternative plans for travel, other union officers and staff continued to fly and were uncertain whether their flying violated the strike.

The PATCO strike canceled somewhere between one-fourth and one-half of all flights at the beginning of the week. But it could have brought the industry to a halt if other significant unions had joined in support. Machinist president

William Winpisinger said that if all the unions concerned were willing to go out, he would call out his members, who work as airline mechanics. Without such unanimity, however, he felt "I can't put our guys' heads on the line," since a refusal to work would be met by a speedy injunction and penalties. Even respecting a picket line in an illegal strike may not be protected under law, one attorney said.

But Winpisinger did tell his members

that "if they reach their place of employment and there's a picket line, I expect them to act like good Machinists and respect it." Some Machinists, as well as other workers, apparently did honor picket lines set up at O'Hare and other airports. However, since the controllers primarily picketed only their control towers, other workers could go to their jobs without being faced by a picket line.

The Air Line Pilots Association, in theory a crucial potential ally, showed no interest in sympathy action or unified support with the Machinists. PATCO and the pilots have a history of tense, unfriendly relations, which have worsened with the strike. "Pilots only care for themselves," grumbled PATCO picketer Tom Gautherat. But PATCO has not endeared itself with other parts of the labor movement: it was one of the few unions to endorse Reagan; its leaders were slow to seek help from the AFL-CIO; and



Machinist leader William Winpisinger has called on the AFL-CIO for joint action in support of the striking air controllers.

many labor observers privately felt PATCO had made their task—and conse-

Continued on page 10

Although their union supported Reagan in 1980, they're the first to feel the brunt of the administration's anti-union bias.



AFL-CIO rallies against cuts

By David Moberg

CHICAGO

THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT will take its deepening disagreement with the Reagan administration to the streets of the Capitol Sept. 19 for a "Solidarity Day" demonstration to protest "the Administration's effort to turn back the clock on 40 to 50 years of social progress in America—and to assert the labor movement's and working people's demands for jobs and justice."

Details of the demonstration were laid out to the presidents of all AFL-CIO unions after the federation's executive council met last week, but the idea was approved last spring. As AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland traveled around the country to regional meetings he found insistent demands from local labor leaders for a protest. Besides, President Reagan had thrown down the gauntlet when the AFL-CIO initially criticized the administration's economic program by asserting that Kirkland and other labor leaders did not speak for labor in America.

No one can remember when the AFL-CIO has sponsored such a major national demonstration. (A jobs rally in 1975 that upset many officials when rank-and-file militancy erupted was a project of the Industrial Union Department.) The AFL-CIO has extended the invitation to all of the members of the budget coalition that



Lane Kirkland, AFL-CIO president, has called for a massive demonstration in Washington Sept. 19 to protest Reagan's programs.

opposed Reagan's cuts, to civil rights and women's groups, socialists, citizen action organizations, peace groups and any other supporters. It is thoroughly ecumenical and non-exclusive.

Although AFL-CIO organizers conservatively talk about bringing 100,000 demonstrators to Washington, two of the most active unions in support of the demonstration—the Machinists and AFSCME (state and local employees)—each hopes to bring at least 40,000.

An aide to the Operating Engineers denied reports that the skilled trades were

not supported Solidarity Day. But the trades have few mechanisms and little inclination to be extremely active. Many other unions, as well as the AFL-CIO staff, have had little experience mobilizing their members in recent decades.

The executive council passed numerous tough resolutions on Reagan's policies that reflect the agenda of Solidarity Day:

- the tax bills (including the Democratic bill) were attacked as "a tax cutting spree for business and the wealthy and against workers that defies logic, precedent and fair play;

- the Reagan economic program was described as "class warfare against the poor and working people of America;"

- federal chartering of big corporations, oil company divestiture and credit controls were advocated in opposition to the Reagan acquiescence in the "monopolizing of America" through the current merger boom;

- the positive role of government was defended as the means of dealing with unemployment, urban blight, transportation, education, health and housing, since "the unfettered free market has proved incapable of addressing these problems."

Kirkland limited his critique of Reagan's military spending to an attack on the notion that a "strong, effective defense...must be paid for through the demolition of a wide range of social programs that are crucial to the well-being of large elements of society." In the executive council session, Autoworkers president Doug Fraser—sitting in for the first time as a vice-president—made a more general criticism of the bloated Reagan military budget that was seconded by AFSCME president Jerry Wurf and Machinist president William Winpisinger.

The final defense resolution supported "a strong national defense" against the threat of "totalitarian expansionism" but criticized waste and a pure "dollar definition" of military strength. "Our support for national defense is not," the council said, "to be taken as a blank check for the Pentagon." Although the AFL-CIO intends to focus Solidarity Day on domestic economic and social issues, some unions as well as other groups will be questioning Reagan's foreign policy and military spending.

Fraser gave another hint of how his presence may affect the executive council

Continued on page 10

LABOR



Tender chickens, hard times in the age of designer poultry



By Michael Hoyt and
Mary Ellen Schoonmaker

ACCOMAC, VA

EVERYONE LOVES TOUGH, testy Frank Perdue, selling his designer chickens on television like Brooke Shields sells blue jeans. "If you had legs like mine," the bald millionaire says in that plaintive squawk, "you'd put your name on them too." With commercials like these, Perdue has built an East Coast market from Washington to Boston. He's number one in branded chicken in New York City, where he's a guest on talk shows, a substitute radio d.j. and a celebrity on the street.

But Frank Perdue loses that expensive ad-agency glow 300 miles to the south, where he's been locked in a bitter labor struggle at the processing plants where people slaughter and prepare his birds. The United Food and Commercial Workers Union has been trying to organize these workers, mostly rural black men and women making an average of \$4.54 an hour.

In late July, the union lost the first battle in that war when employees at Perdue's main processing plant in Accomac, Va., voted 602 to 326 to reject the union.

"I'm confident that in the long run Perdue will be organized—I'm talking about eight to 10 years from now," said union official Mark Koerner the morning after the vote. "But in the short run these workers are going to suffer."

Money was not the main issue. Perdue's raises have been relatively generous since the union drive began in late 1978, and his wages are now about 25 cents an hour above the industry average. But the way Perdue treats his workers made some of them angry enough to stand on a picket line in Accomac for nearly a year, handing out union leaflets to the beat of disco tapes.

"I came here more than a year ago all prepared to talk money," said Tex Walker, the union's organizer at Accomac who set up shop in an abandoned gas station a few miles down U.S. Highway 13. "But it's hard to organize around money here. People have learned to survive on very little. Dignity was the key to this campaign. The main thing is the workers ain't got no say."

The Accomac plant—one of the largest and most modern chicken slaughterhouses in the world and the pride of a burgeoning industry—has been a focal point in the fight to secure labor's tenuous foothold in poultry. The workers on the Accomac picket line represented organizing drives at all five of Perdue's active plants in four states. Their complaints sounded like those of auto workers in the '30s when that union was born: speed-ups on the assembly line, harsh and arbitrary discipline and, again and again, no dignity.

Perdue's army of supervisors patrol the eight assembly lines at Accomac with stopwatches and fire people at an amazing rate. They fired more than 400, by the union's count, during 1979 and 1980

—in a workforce of just over 1,000.

"I didn't feel good one day," said Mildred Gale, a 31-year-old mother of three on the line. "I told the nurse, but she wouldn't let me go home. I went to the doctor that night and he said I had tonsillitis and infections in both ears. I was out four days—my grandmother called in for me—and when I got back, they gave me two occurrences." Occurrences are like demerits. So are "warnings" for poor workmanship on a chicken. Eight occurrences or four warnings and you are out of a job.

The workers talk about a different Frank Perdue from our celebrity. Their Frank takes \$1.25 out of their paychecks for work aprons. His supervisors speed up the assembly line so that the chickens fly by at 72, 74, 75 chickens a minute instead of the normal 70. The faster the birds move, the shorter the workday and the thinner the paycheck at the end of the week. Even a short day can seem long enough. "Your hands ache, your arms ache, your back aches," said Mildred Gale.

The advertising talents at Scali, McCabe and Groves, who made Frank the star of his own commercials 10 years ago, were right on the mark. He is the company—it was born the same year he was—and he took it from a small family operation to a firm that should realize sales of more than \$400 million this year. But like so many self-made men, he can't see the role of his employees in building his empire. Perdue wants employees who ask how high when he says jump, and in Accomac, a dirt-poor section of a right-to-work state, he's been able to get them, so far.

The Delmarva Peninsula takes its name from Delaware, Maryland and Virginia, and it dangles under New Jersey like the

wattle of some great chicken. It is, in fact, chicken central, the main source of poultry for the whole Northeast. Every few miles gatherings of long, rounded chicken huts sit in rows, covered in plastic against the cool of spring, and every local menu lists "Delmarvalous" fried chicken.

The peninsula hangs back in time. Roads wander off U.S. 13 through small towns to the ocean on one side, Chesapeake Bay on the other, passing pillared houses with names like "Tara" overlooking fields of corn and soybeans or small fruit orchards. The car radio picks up local religious programs or maybe "Swap Shop," the classified ads of the air. Callers have oak tables, Ford Galaxies and used chain saws to sell, or they need yardwork done or want to sit with shut-ins. They are exceedingly polite, with Delmarva's slow, twangy drawl.

Before the peninsula was connected east by bridge to Annapolis in the 1950s and south to Norfolk by bridge and tunnel in 1964, all access to Delmarva was from the top; wealth and ideas filtered down slowly and elements of the antebellum South have been slow to disappear. As for race relations, it was not long ago that a commissioner of Talbot County, to the north of Accomac in



Maryland, argued publicly that if school children were going to get Martin Luther King's birthday off, they should, by God, get Robert E. Lee's off as well. A white town in Delaware built a park for a neighboring black town a few years ago, less out of charity than to keep their neighbors home.

There are small farmers, some lumbering, and on the shore some men make a living pulling fish and oysters from the

The faster the birds move, the shorter the workday and the thinner the paycheck at the end of the week. For a single bad cut you get a warning. Four warnings and you're out of a job.

sea. But mostly in Delmarva, the livelihood is poultry or some offshoot of it, and Perdue is one of the largest employers.

Four strikes and you're out.

The first thing you see driving past his Accomac plant are the feathers, like a light sprinkle of snow on the highway. About a quarter million chickens arrive by truck at the plant each morning, clucking and curious in the early sun, and the same number leave in the late afternoon, quiet little corpses on ice.

The pickets had their line up at starting and quitting time every day from last September—when they were frozen out of their jobs in a brief and confused strike—until shortly before the vote, when all but three were rehired under union pressure. They passed out leaflets, while inside Perdue passed out the *Perdue Courier*, management's in-house publication.

The picketers described a world inside the plant where the noise, the smell, the steam and the gore can get to you. They don't joke about chickens here. Jesse Collins, a stocky 33-year-old striker who cuts breasts off birds on one assembly line, didn't smile when asked if he ever dreamed about them. "I know a girl who started dreaming about chickens," he said. "The doctor told her it was time to quit."

At the receiving end of the plant, the chickens take their last look at the world upside down as they're hung by their feet on the assembly line. Their heads are dipped into an electric solution that stuns them just before their throats are cut by a whirling blade.

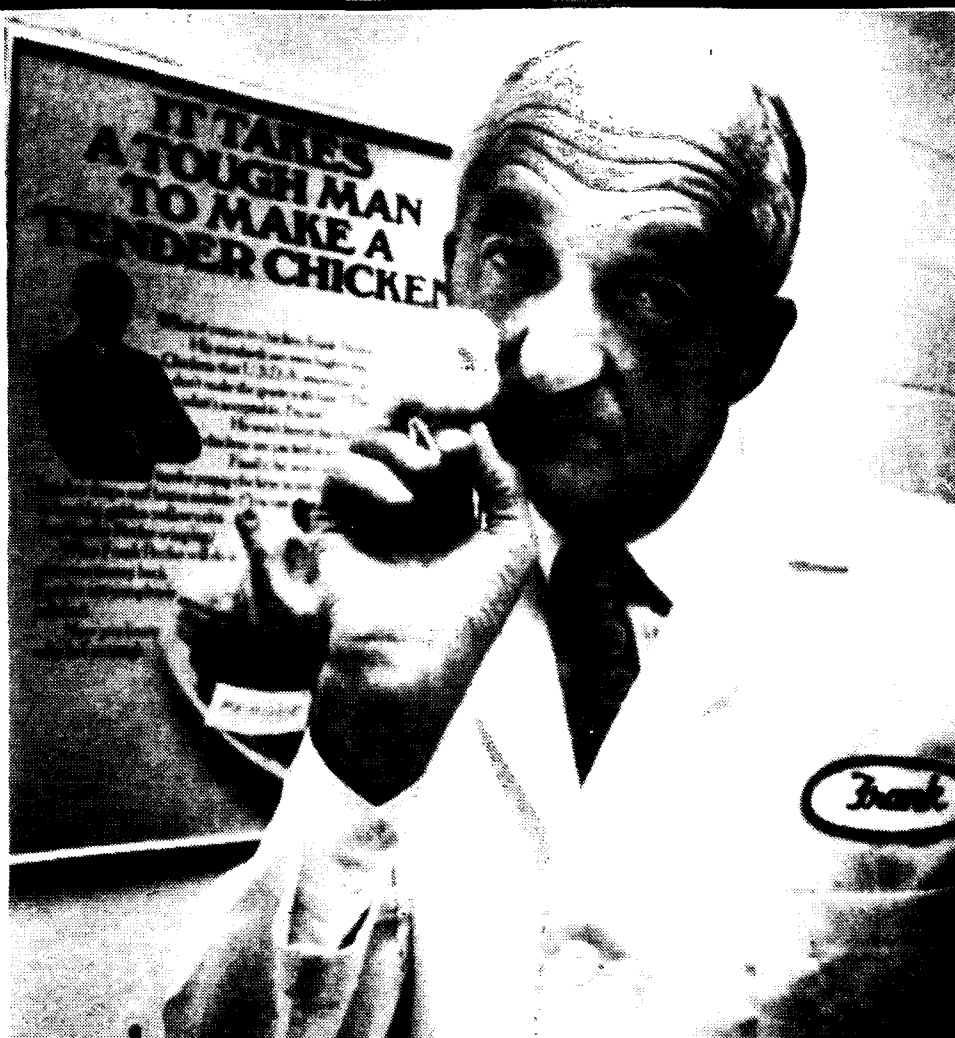
They are scalded and plucked by rubber-fingered machines and emerge steaming, naked and dead. Their heads are pulled off and dropped into buckets, where they will join other byproducts—guts and feathers—to be boiled down and mixed into a meal to feed the next generation of birds.

The small yellow bodies, meanwhile, proceed along their macabre high-speed clotheslines to "evisceration," where workers use machines and fingers to gut the birds and pull out the lungs, crops and windpipes. Some birds head for "cut-up," where workers remove breasts, legs and wings, their knives kept sharp by roving sharpeners.



The chickens swing by faster than one a second. Breast cutters like Jesse Collins cut every fifth bird, holding it in a chain-mail glove. "If you itch, you can't scratch," he said. "You get two 10-minute breaks, but by the time you get to your locker, take off your apron and go to the bathroom, there's no time for coffee. The supervisor is timing you with a stop watch." If he's late, Collins could get an occurrence. If he makes a single bad cut on the thousands of birds he trims, he could get a warning. He could work these off with stretches of good behavior. If not, there are others to take his job.

The only non-production worker to join the picket line at Accomac was Ernest Harrison, a 31-year-old father of two, a six-year veteran at Accomac and a skilled maintenance employee who joined the



Frank Perdue is already a household word in the East Coast market and the union fears his employment practices will soon dominate the booming poultry industry.

lower-paid assembly-line workers on principle.

"The size of this place kind of frightened me when I came here," he said. "To see a plant that size with so many people mistreated, I couldn't believe it. Perdue gets more and more machinery, but he treats people bad. This place is modern—for the birds."

Last summer, the union optimistically scheduled a vote at Accomac for Oct. 2. As fate would have it, Perdue's truck drivers, unhappy over new work rules and other matters, staged their own wildcat strike in late August and went to the Teamsters for help. Several hundred processors, on the advice of the Food and Commercial Workers, refused to cross the trucker picket line. But the drivers folded quickly, the Teamsters' quick organizing effort was handily turned back, and over a few days, all but about 50 workers returned to work, some confused by a lack of communication between the two unions. Those 50, Tex Walker's strongest core of union supporters, were then frozen out. Perdue announced he had found others to fill their jobs.

The union put on the pressure, filing a string of unfair labor practice charges and launching a national boycott of Perdue products. The workers were slowly rehired, though some two dozen remained on the picket line for the better part of a year, a visible touchstone and a sign of defiance for the employees coming and going each day. In late April, the National Labor Relations Board worked out a settlement involving two unfair labor practice charges—nine others were dismissed or withdrawn. But as the elections approached the union filed another batch, charging that the most outspoken union supporters were being harassed and intimidated inside the plant.

Perdue began holding "captive-audience" meetings during working hours—compulsory attendance sessions at which management presented its side. The union brought in Jesse Jackson, who gave a stirring talk in a big tent a few miles down Highway 13, 12 days before the vote. "You're poor and you're black," Jackson told the workers. "Don't add scared to the list."

"If the election was right now we'd win," a union source said shortly after Jackson's speech. "But Perdue's going to chip away. It's going to be close."

Perdue has other problems, aside from

labor. Two pending lawsuits—separate federal and civil actions—allege that he overstepped the bounds of legality to choke off competition in New York. In a \$35 million suit filed last year, West Side Poultry Co., Inc., a New York City distributor, charged that Perdue personally demanded that it stop distributing rival "Cookin' Good" chickens. When West Side wouldn't knuckle under, the suit says, Perdue cut it off. The federal government has recently made similar charges in its own suit. (To defend him-

self Perdue has hired the Park Avenue law firm of Rogers and Wells, whose heavyweight clients have included the Caesars World gambling corporation and the late Shah of Iran.)

In an interview last spring, Perdue's eyes were as soulful and his Delmarva voice as plaintive as on TV. He summed up the legal charges as well as the union's contention that he treats his employees badly with one of his favorite words. "Ludicrous," he said. "Simply ludicrous."

"I don't think you're familiar with how these things work," he continued. "Unions throw up a smokescreen on unfair labor practice charges when they think they are going to lose. The unions spend thousands on food, booze and entertainment to get 30 percent of the cards signed for an election." The union claims it got 60 percent, he is told. "That doesn't make it true, does it? They could claim 105 percent, couldn't they?"

He concedes slaughterhouses are unpleasant, but doesn't quite address the issue of capricious firings. "It's a high turnover business. It's admittedly relatively low-paying. But our turnover is lower than the industry average."

Union officials will concede that Perdue is not the worst villain in the poultry industry, which is only about one-fifth organized. One reason for the fight against him is his phenomenal success. He is growing so rapidly that labor fears his practices will dominate the industry—he recently bought up four union plants on the Eastern shore and re-opened three of them—presto chango—as nonunion. Now he's heading further south, planning his next plant in Soul City, North Carolina.

The whole industry is overdue for a union drive. Chicken is booming—each American eats 50 pounds of it a year, twice the average 20 years ago. Poultry is an \$8 billion industry, where productivity is exploding, thanks to modern genetics and equipment. But the industry has shared precious little of the expanding chicken pie with the employees, generally poor and rural, who do the dirty work. The first fight to change that equation was lost at Accomac, but at least the struggle has begun.

Michael Hoyt has written for several national publications including *American Lawyer* and *New Times*. Mary Ellen Schoonmaker is a reporter with the *Record* in Bergen County, N.J.

Near the end of the assembly line, the headless and footless chickens are checked for any pinfeathers that escaped the plucking machine.



POLITICS

Strategies begin to converge as left groups take stock

By David Moberg

MILWAUKEE

AFTER THE SHOCK OF REPEATED right-wing victories in Congress this summer, it would be hard to imagine that the left has much to cheer about. Yet two small gatherings over the first weekend of August gave signs of hope that a more coherent, more relevant and more effective left presence may soon develop.

In celebrating its 10th anniversary as a democratic socialist organization, the New American Movement (NAM) voted to approve merger with the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC). Since DSOC had already given its approval, there are few obstacles to final ratification next spring.

The merged organization will certainly



NAM members approved merger with DSOC, headed by Michael Harrington.

The two conferences struck many common themes. Both groups, for example, were urged to recapture ground lost to the right on "family" issues, publicizing the impact of Reaganomics on family life.

be larger. NAM has 1,500 members and DSOC has 5,300, but leaders realistically expect that the merger will inspire hundreds of now unaffiliated supporters to join. The merged organization, whose name is not yet determined, will also have a better distribution of members by region and age: NAM has been stronger in the west and midwest and among graduates of the '60s new left as well as among older ex-Communists; DSOC has been stronger in the east and among trade union officials, veteran socialists and college youth.

But the merger also represents a growing convergence on the left with regard to strategy. While recognizing the value of local organizing, which has been NAM's strength in various locations, NAM members are more aware than ever that socialists must have a national presence and be engaged in the major policy issues of national politics, long one of the weaknesses of NAM. While holding on to a vision of rank-and-file involvement and direct action, they also acknowledge

that socialists must contest for power in elections. That will mean working within the Democratic party much of the time at present, most people in NAM now feel.

Coincidentally during the same weekend, similar attitudes among community organizers were evident at the annual retreat—rebranded this year an "advance"—sponsored by the Midwest Academy in South Bend, Indiana. There academy director Heather Booth described to 400 assembled organizers the emerging plan for a 1982 campaign to elect hundreds of leftists to state and local offices on a common platform. A national advisory committee is being set up to coordinate such a campaign, as well as training programs and statewide political action committees. The Machinists have contributed \$30,000, and support from other unions, such as the National Education Association, AFS-CME, and the United Food and Commercial Workers, as well as Nader groups, senior citizen organizations and other community groups is expected.

Both NAM and the community organizers started the decade with high hopes for creating a mass movement that either was socialist or could become socialist eventually. They wanted to set aside many of the new left attitudes that had indiscriminately pitted the '60s movements against American traditions and against much of the working class. For differing reasons, both groups were frustrated. But the sobering '70s produced some strategic convergence on the need for working in electoral politics, involvement in existing mass organizations as well as in new coalitions, popular expression of basic socialist ideas, and confrontation with resurgent conservative and corporate forces based on a new program that goes beyond liberalism.

NAM has had to fight as well as preserve its new left past. While clinging to an often vague but important vision of socialism as democratic and as embracing broad cultural change as well as economic and political transformation, NAM nevertheless largely failed to articulate an effective strategy. But it did manage, over

The latter theme, long emphasized in NAM, took a different turn at the convention. Michael Lerner, a founder of NAM who later left the organization, argued for a national strategy focused on defense of the family—taken in its many forms—as an institution of intimacy and mutual caring. Rather than let the right capitalize on identification with the family, while advocating policies that threaten both families and intimacy, the left should emphasize that "what people seek in family life can best be achieved in a socialist society," Lerner argued.

Although Barbara Ehrenreich, a NAM leader for seven years, agreed that it was important to undermine the right's use of the family banner, she argued for defense of a universalistic "radical morality" rather than defense of the "family," which she called a diffuse, ideological concept.

It was a sign of the convergence of concerns on the left that the next night at the Midwest Academy retreat, Steve Max sounded a similar alarm. He argued that



the years, to fight off the many tendencies within its midst that would have taken it off into further isolation from the potential audience for its message. Its members' growing involvement in unions, community organizations, feminist campaigns and local electoral work during recent years has also forced the organization into increasingly realistic political appraisals.

A great leap forward.

NAM members, who voted 448 to 59 with 22 abstentions in favor of the NAM-DSOC political unity statement, generally saw the merger as "the most important event for American socialists in the past 25 years," as former Communist party organizer Saul Wellman said. Though there was considerable sentiment that DSOC was too uncritical of Israel and too uniformly condemnatory of Community Party-led countries, there were no changes made in the unity document. (Internal NAM resolutions on both those subjects were passed.) Most dissenters from the merger indicated that they would stay in the new organization.

Stanley Aronowitz argued that this merger offers the first opportunity since before World War II "for a socialist movement of popular influence to emerge in the United States," in part because the new organization embodies a different vision of socialism that rejects both right-wing anti-Communism and left-wing sectarianism, makes democracy the content of socialism, is "firmly anti-imperialist," and makes personal issues political.

the left needed to demonstrate how Reagan's economic program was an "enemy of the family." The right offered "false solutions to real problems," Max said, "but we shouldn't ignore the real problem," people's concerns about family life and sexuality.

Beyond celebrating its decade and basking in the closeness of associations that have been a strength of NAM, as well as a barrier to many who are culturally different, the NAM convention provided a chance for its members to reflect on its failures and successes.

"NAM probably more than any other organization suffered from a lack of any historic continuity," Dorothy Healey commented, and many of its members had not been firmly rooted in their communities or other organizations. But it did manage to preserve worthwhile traditions of the '60s, adding to them some of the ideas of the Eurocommunist movements and attempting to integrate feminist perspectives into socialist theory. Also, "NAM has succeeded in defining socialist politics not by reference to foreign countries, but more with reference to America itself," Frank Ackerman said.

NAM's strengths are likely to be reinforced by the merger, which will in turn support many of the newer, activist currents in DSOC. "I don't see this convention as marking the end of who we are," Richard Healey said. "The word NAM won't be used, but the best of what NAM is will be carried into the new organization."

Jim Steiker and Bob Nicklas contributed to the reporting of this article.

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IN THE WORLD



The super-secretive P2 lodge dispensed with many of the Masonic rituals.

EUROPE

P2 revelations are startling even by Italian standards

By Diana Johnstone

R O M E

EACH NEW ITALIAN SCANDAL bursts open with such spectacular chain effects that it looks like the climax to the fireworks show—here comes another, and yet another. The P2 Masonic lodge scandal would seem to be exhausting the possibilities of this particular art form, yet there is no doubt still more to come.

So far, the scandal has caused massive resignations, several arrests and a couple of suicides. It hastened the fall of the government headed by Arnaldo Forlani, who was succeeded for the first time in the post-war Republic by a non-Christian Democrat, Republican Giovanni Spadolini. P2 has been dissolved and laws are being framed to outlaw such secret societies in the future. But it is another matter to control the peculiar mixture of careerism, corrupt business practices and anti-communism that has poisoned so much of Italy's public life. The unraveling P2 scandal provides glimpses of the way these elements intertwine.

Last March 17, police investigating the activities of Italo-American Mafia banker Michele Sindona got a warrant to search the Arezzo villa of businessman

Licio Gelli, 62, venerable master of Sindona's select and secretive Free Mason lodge called "Propaganda 2" or P2 for short. There they found a list of 953 P2 members known only to Gelli, which turned out to include the heads of Italy's intelligence agencies, numerous generals and admirals and key men in government ministries, the courts, industry, banking and the press. They also found thousands of secret government files and reports evidently passed along to the venerable master by well-placed P2 members. These papers reportedly contain a wealth of inside information on widespread oil bribery and other scandals. Gelli apparently used such information to select new members, pressure them into joining, advance the careers of his proteges and blackmail his enemies. Ambitious men joined P2 hoping to get ahead by having powerful friends or at least to avoid having such powerful enemies. Gelli's bankers—specialists in bankruptcy and illegal capital flight—provided loans to indebted lodge brothers, such as Angelo Rizzoli, whose bad management nearly ruined Europe's largest press chain of 38 weeklies and eight dailies, including the influential *Corriere della Sera*.

But Gelli's web was also spun with a political purpose: to control a network within the armed forces and intelligence agencies able—one way or another—to

keep the Italian Communist Party (PCI) out of the government, or, if all else failed, execute a coup d'état. In the past decade, Italian intelligence agencies have been repeatedly dissolved and reorganized after being linked to rightist coup plots and crowd bombings. Now it has come out that despite these measures, the intelligence services were still being manipulated by a man whose fascist past and convictions are notorious. Gelli now has fled to South America, just as he apparently did at the end of World War II, after the defeat of his Nazi heroes.

New uses for an old tradition.

Gelli's use of P2 is a new twist in the history of Free Masonry, and how he got control of such an influential lodge remains part of the mystery.

In 18th century Europe and America, Free Masonry was the semi-secret party of the bourgeois republican revolution. The French Masons of the *Grand Orient de France* led the battle against church control of education and still function as an elite liberal reformist think tank. In 19th century Italy, the liberal revolution was led by the secret societies called *Carbonari*, similar to Free Masons. Italian Masonic orders were banned by Mussolini in order to please the Vatican, but the ban was not seriously enforced.

Italian Free Masonry was revitalized by the arrival of the Americans towards the end of World War II. The U.S. occupiers wanted to fill key positions with people who were neither fascists nor leftists. The OSS (precursor of the CIA) solved this problem by using Italo-Americans and the international organizations they belonged to.

For Sicily, this meant mainly the Mafia. But the Masonic lodges were perhaps more generally helpful. At that time, Italo-American Masons tended to be Democrats, like New York mayor Fiorello La Guardia. Some were anti-fascist immigrants like unionist Giuseppe (Joe) Lupis, who channeled American union money into Italy to splinter the Italian General Confederation of Labor (CGIL) and create anti-Communist unions during the Cold War.

According to former Mason Francesco Siniscalchi, the split in the Italian Socialist Party (PSI) that created the Italian Social Democratic Party (PSDI) was "entirely provoked by Free Masons in the United States and Italy," and by Giuseppe Lupis and Vanni Montana in particular. This was their "first big operation" towards weakening the union of the left between the PSI and the PCI. The PSDI provided the Christian Democrats with a coalition partner on their left. "The Italian Social Democratic Party has been essentially a Masonic group ever since," says Siniscalchi.

PSDI secretary Pietro Longo was the only party leader on Gelli's list of P2 members.

The anti-communist imperative has pulled Italian Free Masonry to the right. The lodges provided ex-fascists with democratic cover and contacts with American brothers ready to raise funds to stop communism and keep dear old Italy just as



Mason Giuseppe Lupis was instrumental in postwar maneuvers to split the Italian left.

they imagined she had always been. In the 1950s, the lodges in general, and P2 in particular, began to recruit heavily among military men eager for coveted promotions. Membership in a lodge was a good guarantee of the non-communism required for a successful career in a NATO military force.

The Argentina connection.

Oddly enough, the venerable master of P2 came to Free Masonry fairly far along in his career.

In his youth, Licio Gelli was more than just an ordinary Italian fascist; he was a Nazi sympathizer who stuck with the Germans even after Italy threw Mussolini out. Fleeing his native town of Pistoia, he acquired property and valuable business connections in Argentina and Uruguay before returning to Italy to acquire more of the same. His closest Argentine friend is said to be Jose Lopez



Licio Gelli and the cover of a book he authored praising Spanish fascism.

By joining P2 ambitious men gained powerful friends, or at least avoided having powerful enemies.

Rega, the former policeman who engineered the suppression of the left that accompanied the 1973 restoration of Juan Peron and was the Rasputin behind the presidency of Peron's widow Isabel. Like Gelli, Lopez Rega has a reputation for sorcery, using mystifying turns of speech to suggest occult powers, veiled threats and generally intimidate. Lopez Rega is credited with having set up the notorious Triple A ("Argentine Anti-communist Alliance") death squads that have murdered and "disappeared" countless victims.

In 1973 the Italian parliament passed what is now being called the "Gelli law" allowing Italian and Argentine nationals to enjoy double citizenship. This enabled Licio Gelli to be accredited by the Italian government as a commercial attaché to the Argentine embassy in Rome, thus enjoying diplomatic immunity in his comings and goings.

Gelli's list of P2 members includes not only Lopez Rega and others of his crowd, but also members of the military clique that overthrew Isabel and sent Lopez

Continued on page 22

AFL-CIO

Continued from page 5

quently the task of the whole labor movement—much tougher by ineptly handling their strike.

Frustration and anger has been building for years among the controllers, who work under considerable pressure and suffer frequently from strain. For some time controllers have been psyching themselves up for this strike, saving money and planning how to handle threats and harassment. The unity and determination that have been created in the three years since "sick-outs" and slowdowns were used during the last contract talks were reflected in the 20 to 1 rejection of the June 22 settlement. (*In These Times*, July 15).

The controllers, who average around \$33,000 a year, needed broad public support for their illegal strike, but they did not make their case as well as they could have. Controllers claim that they have

lost an average of \$9,000 a year in real earnings due to inflation since 1974 while their productivity increased by 43 percent. Therefore they asked for a \$10,000 raise in their ideal contract. They also wanted a 32-hour work week and noted that European controllers in several other countries work less than 40 hours. (European controllers have also gone on strike). They wanted earlier retirement and a better retirement plan, arguing that few controllers now can stand the stress of the job until normal retirement age. But the public usually received the impression that demands were capricious and outrageous, and union people felt that they had not indicated sufficient concentration on a few key demands.

Reagan was on solid legal, albeit reprehensible moral, grounds in moving to decertify the union and threatening to fire strikers. Courts also immediately imposed fines on the union that mounted to at least \$3.4 million a day, as well as individual fines rising to \$1,000 a day, and jailed some officials for contempt of an old injunction. The actions recalled earlier episodes in the battle of American labor to win the right to strike, which was

extended only to private sector workers with the Wagner Act in 1933. State and city public employees still have only a limited right to strike in eight states, but they have succeeded during recent decades in striking simply through exercise of their strength and strategic political pressure.

Federal employees are denied the right to strike on two grounds. First, the government has not specifically extended the right to them. Second, following English common law—although not current British law—it is illegal to strike against the Sovereign, that is, the government.

But as Albert Shanker, head of the Teachers union, noted, "There's no logical reason for public employees not to be able to strike. Government now covers many activities of the private sector." Indeed, it is a questionable distinction when pilots can legally strike but controllers can't.

Kirkland also argued that the right to strike is an inherent human right. It was supported even by Reagan when Polish workers employed by the government struck and formed Solidarity. Besides, Kirkland argued, the administration had

violated the spirit of the law by refusing to follow the doctrine of comparability to private sector workers in setting controllers' wages. It all sounded very much like the Danbury Hatters case, he said, referring to the notorious 1905 court decision to fine individual workers for damages to a business in a boycott that was part of a string of decisions denying workers right to collective action.

Reagan's deep and personal involvement in the controversy suggests that he sees potential for a popular political victory, for scoring ideological points, encouraging union-busting generally, and for subduing all public employees. (Carter had developed similar plans for a controller strike). "All of our strikes are illegal," Don McClure, a top aide in the State, County and Municipal Employees Union (AFSCME), said, "but there's been some restraint on conservative governors from public opinion. Reagan's posture is such that the mayors and governors will love it."

However, the attack may backfire. Ken Blaylock, president of the American Federation of Government Employees, which is now negotiating contracts covering nearly 220,000 workers, says that his headquarters has been besieged by members wanting to help PATCO. He thinks there could be a "spin-off effect" of PATCO militancy, whether they become victors or martyrs, which might encourage other federal employees to consider militant action.

Every government hesitation and every sign of outside support brought the intense little band of air controllers closer together. But above all they feel driven by their own frustrations. "If we relented and went back to work with the problems we had at work," controller Tom Gauthier said, "it wouldn't be worth working anyhow."

PATCO

Continued from page 5

when he remarked to reporters that indicted Laborers president Angelo Fosco should voluntarily step down from the council.

Kirkland philosophically dismissed concerns that the protest was coming too late to affect the budget and tax decisions that are the heart of Reaganomics (or, as others suggest, too early to capitalize fully on people's anger when the effects are felt): "I think it was Justice Cardozo who once said that the inn that shelters for the night is not the journey's end. We've got a long time ahead of us and a lot of work to do. We've only seen the first round and it's not the journey's end."

Solidarity Day, whatever its limitations, is very likely to accelerate labor's journey down the road to more vigorous political action. It is no longer enough, Kirkland told leaders of the 102 AFL-CIO unions, to lobby and organize. "It is time to draw upon our ultimate source of strength, and to call upon those in whose name we speak to come forth in a display of solidarity for a humane and fair America."

Zolton Ferency

the democratic

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ASIA

Japan's different ideas about defense

By David Fleishman

YOKOSUKA, JAPAN

“WE'RE NOT INDIFFERENT to defense. You really can't say that. Every one of us here wants an adequate and proper defense of Japan,” the speaker explained calmly, looking across the broad boulevard at the main gate of the U.S. Naval Base at Yokosuka, a port city some 25 miles south of Tokyo. “We're not evading reality or escaping from any responsibility. It's just that our ideas about our own defense are different—quite different, and I think more realistic—than the Americans’.”

I spoke with Tadashi Wada, a young hospital administrator, in late spring as 3,000 demonstrators massed outside the naval base to protest the docking of the 51,000-ton American attack carrier, U.S.S. Midway.

“The issue right now is the U.S. bringing nuclear weapons into Japan. They don't keep us safe. That's for sure. And they certainly can't be used to guard the sea around us. We feel the best we can do to keep Japan safe right now is to keep the Midway out.”

The protestors—and many other citizens of Japan—were convinced that the Midway, which was scheduled for re-

U.S. pressures to increase military spending don't play in Tokyo.

three strict non-nuclear principles, backed up by law: nuclear weapons would never be produced, possessed or introduced into Japan.

But last spring, former American ambassador to Japan Edwin Reischauer shattered all illusions about Japan's noninvolvement when he revealed that American war ships had been regularly berthed at Japanese harbors with nuclear warheads on board. Supporting statements by former Pentagon official Daniel Ellsberg and another former ambassador to Japan, Alexis U. Johnson, removed any remaining doubts that Japan's non-nuclear principles had been routinely disregarded, apparently with the full knowledge of the conservative Tokyo government, but with the public kept guessing for 21 years.

When the Midway called last year, conservative Yokosuka city mayor Kazuo Yokoyama personally went out to greet the captain and his officers. Five thousand ship-sore sailors, with three months pay in their pockets, were more than welcome.

But this year, following Reischauer's revelations, the Midway was greeted by throngs of angry demonstrators, held back by 3,000 riot police. Fishing captains tried to blockade Yokosuka harbor and nearly continuous sit-ins were held outside the base for a week before the arrival. Even the Japan National Railway's world-famous Bullet train was painted red with slogans by railroad workers protesting the Midway and demanding nuclear disarmament.

Mayor Yokoyama joined Governor Nagasu in an emergency request to Prime Minister Suzuki to postpone the carrier's visit. But Suzuki did nothing. Barely two weeks earlier, the prime minister's refusal to cave in to American pressure on the definition of the word “alliance” in reference to U.S.-Japan relations had caused a crisis in his cabinet that resulted in the resignation of Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ito. This time, a cautious Suzuki adopted an attitude of perfect naivety: The U.S. had never asked Japan for prior consultations as it is required to do before bringing nuclear weapons into Japan, so apparently no nuclear weapons were ever brought in. Ask no questions, you'll hear no lies. Dismissing the on-the-record statements of two former U.S. ambassadors to Japan as “the hearsay of private persons,” Suzuki's government refused to even raise the issue, revealing its own confusion.

The steady pressure to arm.

Washington has been insisting for some time that Japan take more responsibility for military defense. With a GNP second only to that of the U.S., Japan certainly should be able to afford a bigger role as deputy sheriff for Western interests in the Pacific-Asian region, which would free up American forces to tend to more pressing business in the Middle East and Indian Ocean. And being almost entirely dependent on freely flowing sea lanes to keep its economy going, Japan should do more to look out for itself, U.S. officials argue.

In fact, American pressure on Japan to boost its military power began in the early post-war Truman years with the drive to contain Asian revolution. But in the past it kept a low public profile because of the near-universal Japanese resistance to remilitarization.

Over the past 30 years, though, that resistance has been slowly, intentionally

come up with on their own, but it's still not enough for Reagan's military planners.

America puts it in writing.

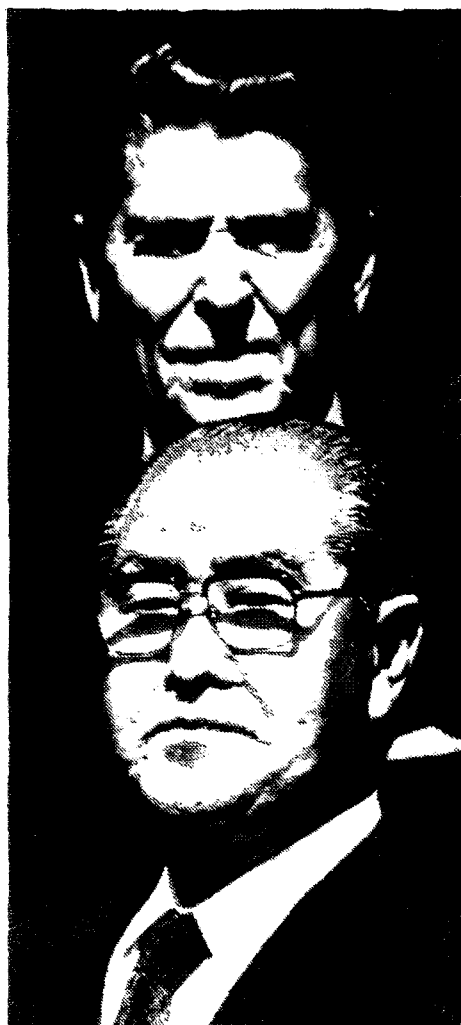
At the mid-June Honolulu meeting of the working-level Japan-U.S. Consultative Committee on Security, Reagan's assistant secretary of defense for international security affairs, Francis J. West, presented a written request that Japan fundamentally revise its current military build-up program: the assumptions of that program, the document said, should be those of wartime, not peacetime. In addition to additional procurements that would almost double Japan's weapons budget, West asked Japan to expand its area of responsibility from the just-agreed-upon 1,000 miles to 1,300 miles from the home islands.

Yet despite its pacifist image, Japan has not been ignoring the military. Defeated and disarmed after World War II, the island nation's first defense build-up plan was adopted in 1957. It has now grown to the world's seventh largest military power.

The Japan Self Defense Forces count some 275,000 men under arms with nearly 50,000 more on reserve. The active forces are heavily over-staffed with officers and can be quickly expanded in an emergency. With a strong emphasis on sea and air power, the SDF fields some of the most technologically sophisticated weaponry in the world. More and more Japanese weapons are now being designed as well as produced at home by a highly advanced heavy manufacturing industry, giving Japan a degree of self-sufficiency in arms unmatched by any of the Western powers except the U.S. Currently Japanese taxpayers lay out about \$19 billion a year for military hardware, personnel and the fuel needed to keep it all running.

Still small by American standards, the 1981 Defense Agency budget nonetheless represents a 7.5 percent jump from last year, the direct result of heavy pressure from the Carter administration. The 1982 Defense Agency budget projection has it jumping again by about 7.5 percent to fulfill promises made by Prime Minister Suzuki in Washington this spring. By comparison, Japan's entire government operations budget will increase by a marginal 1.9 percent next year.

Continued on page 22



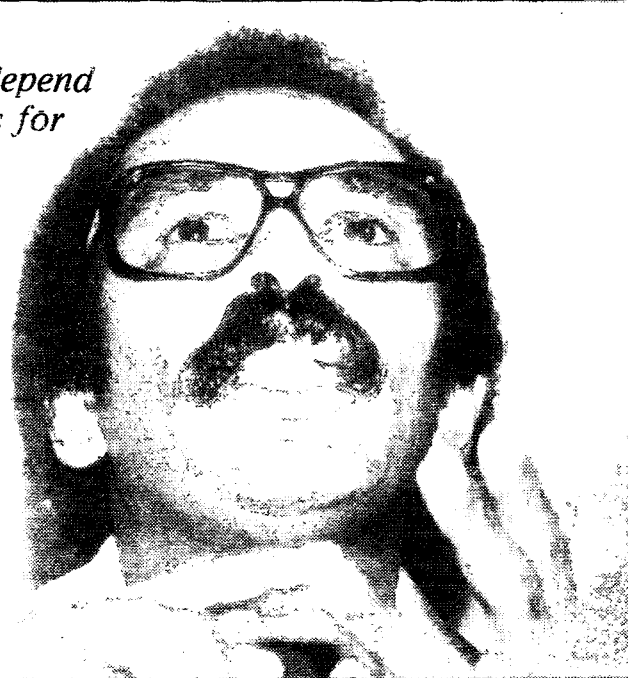
The Reagan administration is not satisfied by Suzuki's recent concessions in Washington.

eroded by American and Japanese government efforts to “create a public consensus on defense.” And now the U.S. agenda has come all the way out of the closet. Jimmy Carter explicitly told former Prime Minister Masayoshi Ohira that his military budget should rise by 3 percent annually in real terms. The Reagan administration also wants the Japanese to do more, but tends to stress performance and capability goals rather than simple spending levels.

At the Reagan-Suzuki summit in Washington in May, the Japanese agreed to expand their sea patrols out to 1,000 miles from their own shores, reaching all the way to Guam and the Philippines. In addition, they will be purchasing new U.S.-made weapons like the E-2C electronic warfare command system, the P-3C anti-submarine patrol planes and a fleet of F-15 jet fighters. All this is far more than the Japanese would have

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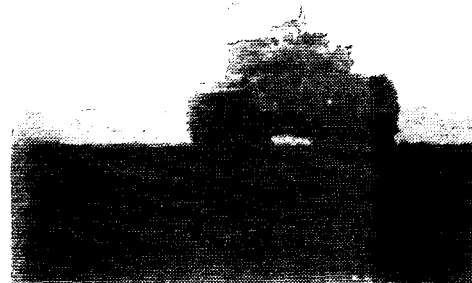
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Japan now designs and manufactures most of its own equipment.

pairs at the Yokosuka shipyards, was carrying as many as 100 nuclear weapons.

“Under such conditions, we cannot tolerate the Midway's visit,” declared Kazuji Nagasu, governor of Kanagawa Prefecture where Yokosuka is located.

The suspicions soon appeared to be confirmed. In response to the outcry against the Midway, American Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger insisted that the carrier's port call was part and parcel of the “nuclear umbrella” the U.S. has extended over Japan since World War II.

“It's not that we just want to keep nuclear weapons out of our own backyard,” said Kiichi Hayakawa, a computer operator for a major trading firm in Tokyo. “Evidently, that's what quite a lot of Americans think we're doing, letting them do our dirty work for us. I can understand why they're upset. But, in fact, we're saying that we'd be a whole lot safer if we got out from under this nuclear umbrella altogether.”

Law and reality.

Since the signing of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty in 1960, Japanese have been concerned about being drawn by America into global conflicts. For 21 years, successive Japanese governments have allayed public fears by earnestly proclaiming a defense policy based on

This is the fifth article in a six-part series on health care in America funded by IN THESE TIMES Investigative Fund.

IN NOVEMBER 1976, MY FATHER, who had done cancer research for some 40 years at the medical school where he taught biochemistry, was operated on for cancer of the colon. The operation was a surgical success—the tumor was removed. Lab analysis showed that “only” one lymph node was affected. This was supposedly better than the cancer’s having spread to more than one lymph node, but when you begin making this sort of distinction you’re locked into biological Russian roulette. My father was given downwards of three years to live.

The operation produced some singularly nasty and torturous complications. “Adhesions” developed in my father’s resectioned bowel—parts of it literally stuck together on healing—and food couldn’t get through. So his doctors hooked him up to a “hyperalimentation machine,” an extremely fancy piece of equipment that monitored a special mix of amino acids and proteins that fed directly into a major artery. This sustained my father through the fast his tormented body insisted on imposing.

When he was strong enough he had a second operation. The adhesions were cut. A tube was inserted through the wound in his stomach. Through this tube he was able to feed himself with a thick, gooey, high-protein mixture while taking tiny amounts of beef broth and jello by mouth every day to remind his gut that in time it was to resume normal digestion. One of the bitter, prideful memories I have of my father in his illness is from the month when he sat at home, spooning the repulsive liquid through the tube: “At least I don’t have to taste it,” he said, taking a sip from the glass of bourbon he kept by his side.

The tube was finally removed but he was never able to eat what he had before. Pain, often so great that it left him gasping for breath, reminded him of that. There were also two more operations to drain abscesses that developed around the original wound. Within a year, my father developed acute anemia, and blood transfusions started—monthly at first, then bi-weekly, then weekly. Each transfusion lasted between six and nine hours. In 1979, two years after his first release from the hospital, he fainted at work and finally admitted he was too weak to continue on the job. He died five months later.

The hospital where he had his first operation was the Clinical Center of the National Institutes of Health, an enormous red brick building that rises above the gentle lawns and trees surrounding the National Institutes of Health in Bethesda, Maryland. The Clinical Center, a 500-bed facility surrounded by labs, is the NIH’s own research hospital, one of the most exotic treatment centers in the world. You get into it if you have a disease someone at the Clinical Center is working on. Once in, you become part of a “protocol,” which means you agree to be a guinea pig in trial-run treatments of your particular illness. Obviously the worst and most stubborn diseases are the likeliest candidates for being researched here, and cancer is in the lead.

Super career ward.

My father didn’t get admitted to the Clinical Center because of his illness, but because of his position. At the time he discovered his cancer, he was working as one of the National Center Institute’s chiefs of staff, having come to Bethesda after his retirement from teaching. It was only after his operation that he became an interesting case. The hyperalimentation machine was part of the Center’s huge arsenal of special treatment equipment, and once he was attached to it my father became part of the “protocol” in which it was a high-tech superstar.

“It’s the right treatment, but I’m the wrong patient,” my father would quip as the nurses stood perplexed by his bedside during weeks of additional complications after the second operation. Supposedly he was getting the best treatment

that could be had in America (nowhere is the nurse-patient ratio better, for example), but none of the treatment seemed “right.” Much of it, in fact, seemed hideously wrong.

Being on the cancer ward at the Clinical Center was like being in a war zone where the counterinsurgency methods against unseen guerillas are getting turned against the war victims themselves. There was the 17-year-old son of a forester from Southern Tennessee, a boy with a rare form of bone cancer. He spent weeks on chemotherapy in a special plastic-sealed room, which insulated him from bacterial and viral contaminants: the chemotherapy had suppressed all his immune mechanisms, and even a cold might have killed him. Most of the time in the room he spent retching and vomiting, and his mouth was so sore that he couldn’t swallow more than liquids and ice cream.

He was an amputee. So were between a third and a half of the Center’s cancer victims. The amputees—the people with their legs off at the knee or hip—were the ones who reminded you that you were in a war zone. I still have a mental picture of two of them. Both are women, both in their 30s, both factory workers, both on new crutches, helping each other down a corridor. They are laughing. They are also smoking—which doesn’t matter. At that point you might as well be hung for a sheep as for a lamb.

Which seemed to be the main point after all. The year my father died, 1979, it was estimated that of 112,000 people who got cancer of the colon, 52,000 would die, and of 112,000 with lung cancer, 98,000 would die. The percentages were lousy, and so were the five-year “survival” rates, which for these, as for almost all cancers, hadn’t changed very much since the 1950s.

It is true that some cancers are exceptions to the rule: acute lymphoblastic (“childhood”) leukemia, Hodgkin’s disease (cancer of the lymph nodes), and chirocarcinoma, a rare tumor affecting pregnant women, all improve dramatically with chemotherapy. But these are the rarest forms of the disease. In general, cancer of the colon, lung cancer and breast cancer, the commonest North American varieties, don’t respond.

On top of which, as you’ve gathered

from the description above, drug therapy is one of the major rack tortures of cancer treatment. No one knew its effects better than my father, who was part of the original research team in the ‘40s that laid the groundwork for Fluorouracil, one of the commonest cancer drugs. When he was offered chemotherapy he turned it down, saying that he would rather live out his remaining few years without that torment.

The drugs that “cure” the rarest kinds of cancer, and which still are given for the common sorts, are themselves highly toxic to bone marrow, lungs, kidneys, heart and stomach. They cause the horrible nausea I just described, and they erode the lining of the mouth and throat. By one of the ironies in which the disease and its treatment abound, they can also be carcinogenic.

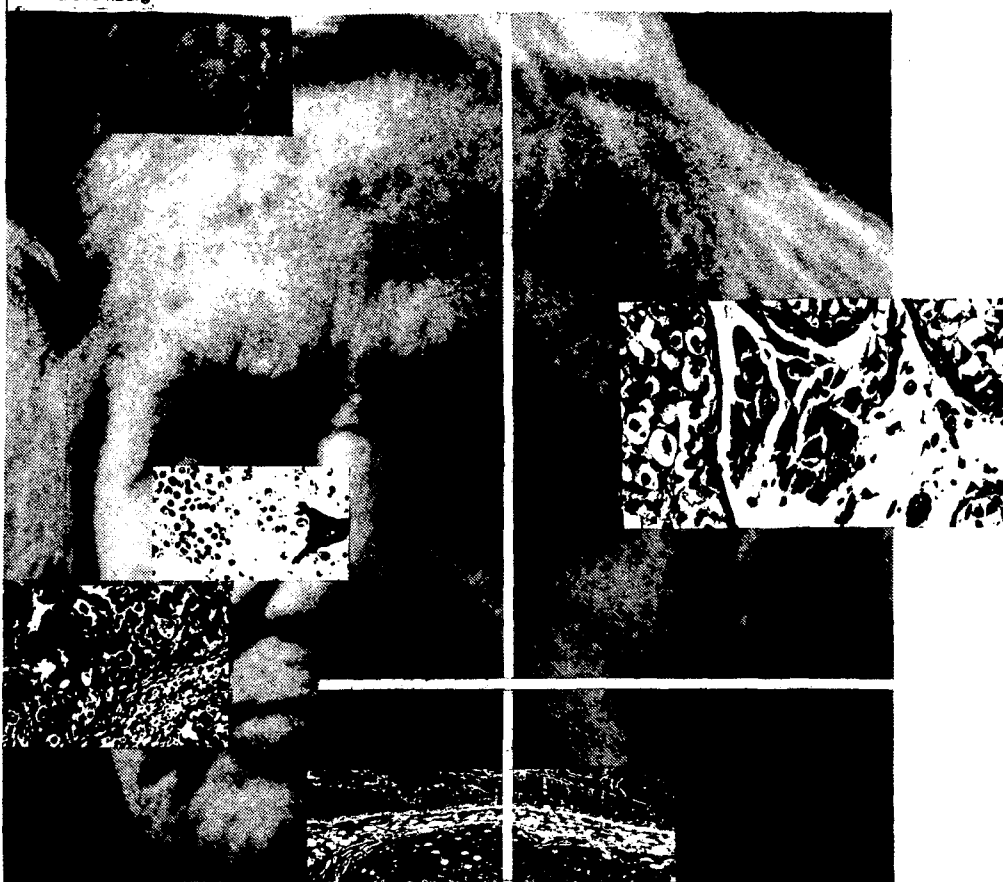
The large American cancer institutions don’t advertise such facts. Nor do they tell you that “surviving” beyond the magic five-year mark laid down as the finish-line for a “cure” may mean having your hair fall out, your body mutilated, and being in pain and depression. This is partly because scientists are as trapped in their own ideologies as other professionals. They really believe, for instance, that patients are artifacts—that success is measured by getting the “right” blood chemistry level, say.

But it is also because the American cancer establishment is bound up tightly in the multinational industrial complex. For instance some dozen of the overseers of the world’s largest private cancer center, Sloan-Kettering, are affiliated with companies like Exxon, American Cyanamid, Texaco, and Union Carbide, all major petro-chemical corporations responsible for spewing billions of tons of carcinogenic chemicals into the air we breathe, the earth in which we plant our organic vegetables, and the water we drink. As another writer on cancer observed, this is a long-range business plan with panache.

“During the past 70 years,” my father wrote in 1976, just before he discovered his own cancer, “cancer has moved from sixth place as a disease cause in the United States to one second only to cardiovascular disease.” Like other writers on the subject he observed that cancer wasn’t increasing because the U.S. population was living longer: virtually

every age group had experienced an absolute cancer increase. By this time my father was convinced that some 80 percent of cancers in the United States were environmentally caused, and that the major environmental agents were industrial. In another essay from the same year he observed that by 1981 the American population would have consumed over a billion pounds of dyes, artificial flavors and colors, from which the food industry would make nearly a billion dollars, and that “enormous amounts of a potent carcinogen, benzopyrene (500 tons annually in the United States), are poured into the atmosphere, and the same compound and other carcinogenic hydrocarbons enter the water and soil in industrial effluents.” What made such information all the more notable was that my father was not only a meticulous clinician, he was also a political conservative—which was one of the reasons, I suspect, that he

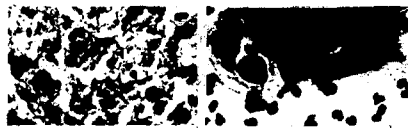
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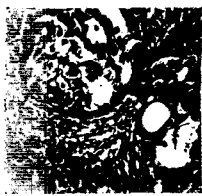


DISSECTION

THE

By Ellen Cantarow

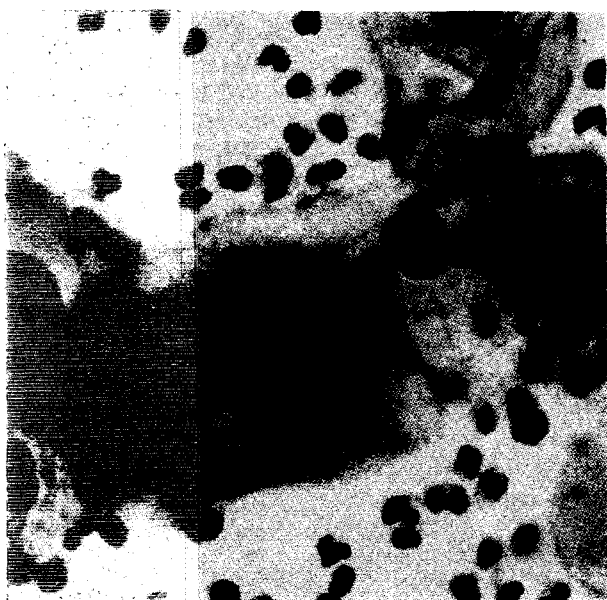




Cancer researchers stare doggedly into their microscopes and fail to see the world outside.



G



V I C T I M

got the NCI job.

At the NCI, though, he was part of an embattled minority. A larger phalanx regarded the cancer war as a guerrilla campaign against a microscopic enemy. Viral research was an Institute favorite. My father's side in the policy battle believed that while some micro-guerrilla skirmishes might be going on at the battlefield peripheries, the real war-mongers were macroscopic. You could trail their spoor through the profit margins listed daily for the major petrochemical, food and drug companies on the Dow-Jones boards.

There were also the human collaborators at the helm of the National Cancer Institute itself. Dr. Philippe Shubik, for instance, who steered the NCI away from major crackdowns on and disclosures of industrial criminality in the biosphere. Not surprisingly, it turned out that Shubik was a paid consultant to General

Foods, Royal Crown Cola, Abbott Laboratories, Miles Laboratories and the Extract Manufacturers' Association.

My father's side managed to get the NCI's anti-environmentalist director, Frank Rauscher, ousted, and a new director brought in. The new director has since resigned; another has taken his place. Like the second, the third supports research on environmental carcinogens, but it isn't at all clear that the NCI has greatly improved its track record. In 1970 less than 20 percent of its budget went to bioassays and other such work on industrial pollutants. It now supposedly devotes some 30 percent of its budget to "environmental research," but when you consider that it counts viruses as environmental cancer agents you begin to wonder. Evidence on the viral front is against a virus-cancer connection. Two years after he had gotten a Nobel Prize in 1975 for his efforts in cancer virology, Howard Temin felt it safe to say that "infectious viruses like those that cause many human diseases do not cause most human cancer."

A new wave of savagery.

As the American cancer research establishment lumbers on in its monumental irrationality, industry keeps turning out thousands of cancer-causing substances. Legal support for the latest round of industrial assaults on the environment began under President Carter in August 1980, when the Supreme Court made its decision on benzene emissions in the workplace. Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall, in a battle against the American Petroleum Institute, had appealed a lower court decision against his request to tighten the standard for benzene emissions in the workplace. It is a known cause of leukemia. In 1969 an "acceptable" level of 10 parts per billion was set, but Marshall brought to the Supreme Court a study by the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health that demonstrated that Ohio workers exposed to benzene in the 1970s had experienced a five-fold increase over the "normal" workplace incidence of leukemia.

The Supreme Court ruled in favor of the American Petroleum Institute. It told Marshall that the burden of proof was on him to demonstrate that the current standard subjected American workers to "a

significant risk." The Court surely knew that it takes at least seven years for benzene to produce leukemia, but it ignored that fact, thereby giving its first major imprimatur of the '80s to unchecked industrial violence on American workers. Justice Thurgood Marshall wrote for a dissenting minority of four that "the consequence of the plurality's approach would be to subject American workers to a continuing risk of cancer and other fatal diseases, and to render the federal government powerless to take protective action on their behalf. Such an approach would place the burden of medical uncertainty squarely on the shoulders of the American worker, the intended beneficiary of the Occupational Safety and Health Act."

In industrial savagery there is nothing new. A London surgeon called Percival Potts described it in the 1770s, after he had traced an excess of scrotum cancer among chimney sweeps to years of soot having been imbedded in the folds of their genitals. "The fate of these people," wrote Potts, describing their lives, "seems singularly hard; in their early infancy, they are most frequently treated with great brutality, and almost starved with cold and hunger; they are thrust up narrow, and sometimes hot chimneys, where they are bruised, burned, and almost suffocated; and when they get to puberty, become peculiarly liable to a most noisome, painful and fatal disease..."

There is a difference between industrial brutality then and now. It is now less obvious, but more pervasive. You can't see benzene. You can't see or smell radiation. But carcinogens like these are all around us. Those of use who don't actually work with them get their spillover. There are National Cancer Institute cancer maps showing that the highest overall cancer death rates for men and women are in the industrialized Northeast. The combined death rate from cancer in the five states with the highest rates (New York, New Jersey, the District of Columbia, Rhode Island and Connecticut), is 45 times as great as in the five lowest states (Utah, New Mexico, Wyoming, Idaho and North Carolina).

So much for those of us who may be unwilling to leave our lives in New York to green out in Wyoming. And these days there's no telling about North Carolina and Wyoming. Under Reagan the entire country will be further transformed into a vast bioassay in which we will all be guinea pigs.

When he got out of the hospital for the first time, my father asked to be driven to see the cherry trees that bloom in a particular part of Bethesda. Later, during the long bouts of blood transfusions, he quipped over the phone that he was "beginning to feel like the bionic man." His usual joy in life and humor showed up the more starkly against the horrible backdrop of cancer.

That was one way of looking at it. It seemed the only way then. I could do nothing to stop the torture he was going through, and his incredible will power and strength of spirit helped both him and me. We all need that to survive the cancer one out of four of us will get.

But there are other, unjustifiable ideas about one's own relation to the cancer scourge. If I hear one more person talk about "cancer-prone personalities," I'll throw up. Suppose there is such a thing as

a "cancer-prone personality." Does that mean that most vulnerable of us isn't entitled to more protection from cancer than the strongest?

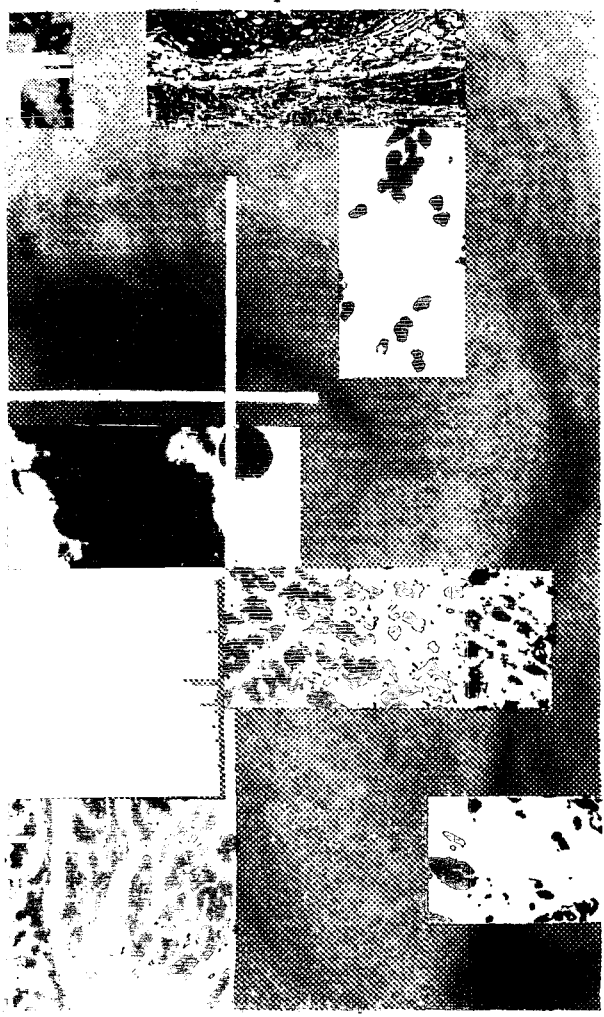
A social Darwinism has emerged on the cancer front to match all the other self-serving notions of American capitalism in its twilight. The idea that cancer is all your fault is perfect for the born-again Protestant ethic of the age of Reagan. Another notion dear to industry just now is that industrial carcinogens account for only 5 percent of cancer deaths; the other 85 percent owe to something called "lifestyle." According to the "lifestyle" theory, my father got cancer of the colon because he smoked a pipe and ate too many fats. Alas, he was born too early to escape the pressures of the tobacco and meat industries and benefit from the blessings of the petrochemical industry, which no doubt at this very moment is sealing fatless *nouvelle cuisine* offerings in containers made with vinyl chloride.

While industry offers us blame-the-victim theories with its usual contempt for our intelligence, we are left to figure out just how wide the limits are on what we can do to stave off cancer by ourselves. We can stop smoking. Lung cancer, which used to be comparatively rare, is not the most rapidly-spreading cancer in the United States. It can be traced almost entirely to cigarettes. For smokers, cancer mortality rates are 10 times higher than for nonsmokers. It does help to know that 10 years after you've quit, your chances of dying from lung cancer will be no greater than if you'd never smoked at all. We can also watch the labels on food containers: it's useful to avoid anything reading "artificial coloring" or "artificial flavoring." We can stop jogging through the fumes of our local expressways, unless we want to play risk-benefit games with our own lives.

Beyond this we'll find ourselves turning into paranoids. Not that paranoia isn't warranted. It is. But once one has started shunning whole milk, fatty meats and fish, and butter (all carcinogens being fat-soluble), one has recognized that industry has ground its grime into the very fibers of the food chain.

To this fact, which we are forced literally to ingest every day of our lives, there are no individual solutions. There are only rage and collective action. Hard, I know. My own rage often flickered out as my father was going through the last years of his life, and a dreadful lethargy would take me over. The lethargy was worse than grief: it was spiritually annihilating. Of course, when you think how monumental the forces are behind cancer, lethargy is one normal reaction. It becomes easy to believe that cancer is inevitable. It isn't. It is only that the other side, which has not only created sweatshops in Taiwan, but also has penetrated the very cells of the most comfortable of Americans, makes fighting seem like an existential solution. That may possibly turn out to be true. But as far as I'm concerned it's a far better alternative than despair.

ELLEN CANTAROW, author of *MOVING THE MOUNTAIN: WOMEN WORKING FOR SOCIAL CHANGE*, is now attending the Boston University School of Public Health. Members of the Health Policy Advisory Center assisted in the research for this series. Contact them at Health/PAC, 17 Murray Street, New York, NY.



EDITORIAL

Next time, business will be to blame

In April of 1917, just after the United States had declared war on Germany, farmers of Eastern Oklahoma and Western Arkansas started referring to President Woodrow Wilson as "Big Slick." He had, after all, been re-elected only six months before as "the man who kept us out of war."

It's impossible to say how long it will take for Americans to start calling Ronald Reagan by the modern equivalent of Big Slick, but now that he has gotten his program through Congress on the promise that it will drastically curtail inflation, stimulate growth, create jobs and reduce federal budget deficits, the time cannot be far off.

Reagan has claimed that his budget and tax package will "achieve all the essential aims of recovery," and specifically that it will increase the annual rate of growth of the Gross National Product to 4.5 percent after 1982, while cutting inflation to 8.3 percent that year and 5.5 percent in 1984. He also has promised a balanced budget for 1984, despite massive increases in military spending.

But even if the massive tax cuts for corporations and wealthy individuals do tend to encourage productive investment (and thus stimulate growth), the administration's monetary policies, designed to slow inflation, will act to inhibit investment, especially on the part of smaller corporations and entrepreneurs for whom interest rates in the 20 percent range are prohibitive. As a matter of simple logic, Reagan's policies work against each other, so that even if they did what they were supposed to do, which is not likely, they would cancel each other out.

Indeed, almost all economists, including pro-Reagan conservatives, doubt that Reagan's program can succeed. Rudy Penner, an economist for the right-wing American Enterprise Institute, and an unofficial advisor of the administration, sees recurring recession over the next several years because of high interest rates. He also believes that "there will be very large budget deficits as far as the eye can see." Next year he expects a record-breaker in the range of \$70 to \$80 billion, reports Bill Neikirk in the *Chicago Tribune*.

Similarly, John Paulus, an economist for the New York investment house of Goldman Sachs, says that the nation's financial leaders have analyzed the Reagan program and have concluded that "it does not represent a significant anti-inflation program," Neikirk writes.

The absurdity of the claim that the Reagan tax cuts will vigorously expand the economy, while high interest rates are deliberately being used to induce contraction, recession and unemployment as a means to control inflation has prompted John Kenneth Galbraith to remark that this will be more difficult than the Israelites march on dry land across the Red Sea. In fact, as Galbraith goes on to argue, what is being called supply-side economics in the United States has very little to do with the functioning of the economy, as "everyone with a minimum of resistance to bamboozlement and special pleading either realizes or is coming to comprehend." The long and the short of it is, says Galbraith, that "investment is made in response to the prospect for profits," and that "income tax reduction does not turn a prospective loss into a profit."

Galbraith's point, which we have argued before, is that both the budget cuts and the tax cuts are primarily a transfer of income from working people and the poor to the super-rich individuals and giant corporations that promoted Reagan. "This, not the pompous busi-

ness about reinvigoration of the system," Galbraith asserts, "is the true motivation of the tax (and expenditure) cuts."

The need to dissemble.

But corporate interests can no longer advocate lower taxes for themselves and cuts in spending for working people and the unemployed merely for their own benefit. A larger purpose must be found, and with the failure of government policies of recent decades, they have been able to sell the idea that government intervention in the economy has been the problem and that with an unleashing of business to do what it wants, the country's problems can be solved.

Of course, there's nothing new in this. Reagan is simply going back to the policies that led to the Great Depression of the '30s. In 1933, when the policies that Reagan is now touting as a solution to recession had failed miserably, Franklin D. Roosevelt proposed what he called a new partnership between the citizen and the government—a New Deal for the country. Roosevelt's program of corporate (as contrasted to *laissez faire*) liberalism obviously did not provide a long-term solution to our country's ills, but under those policies substantial gains were made by labor, blacks and women and an unprecedented period of relative prosperity and stability was achieved.

With the liberals' failure to sustain growth and stability, there were, in theory, two paths open for the country.

porate interests over working people and the poor is a two-edged sword. The liberals, of course, also served corporate interests, but they did so with some balance and with rhetorical neutrality. As Galbraith points out, capitalism has survived in all industrial countries because of its effort to "mellow its otherwise harsh impact on the least fortunate and the most easily alienated in the society." The liberals did this through government, which further protected business by leaving "government" exposed when their programs collapsed. With the Reagan administration rhetorically eliminating government from the picture and praising the glories of the profit motive and unfettered enterprise, business is directly exposed and will be much more vulnerable politically as the Reagan policies bring greater insecurity and discomfort to the people and increasing instability to society.

A long view for the left.

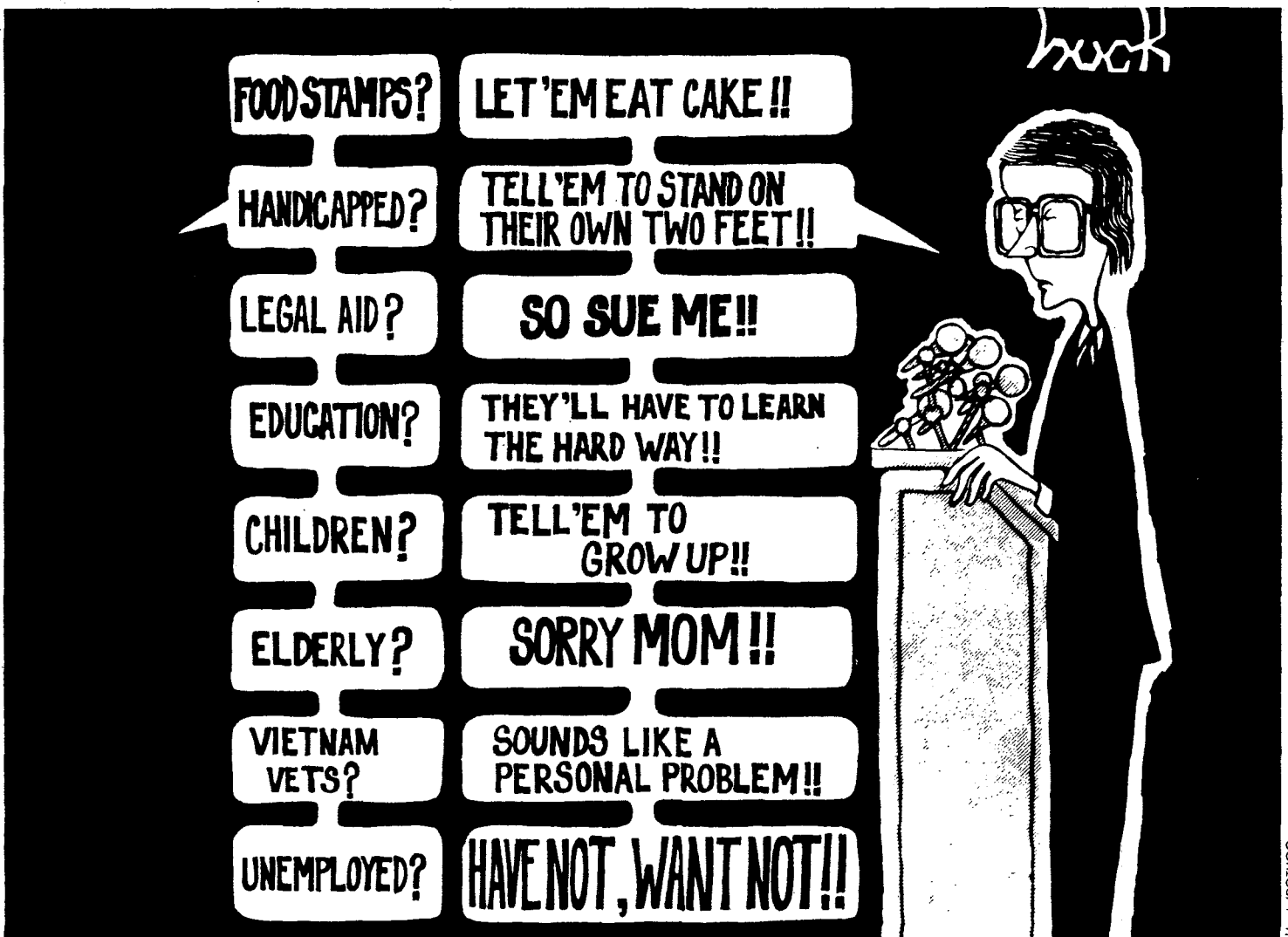
While doing what it can immediately to minimize the Reagan administration's attacks on Social Security, safety and health regulation, public education, support for low-income housing, mass transportation and social services in general, the left must also begin thinking about the not-so-distant future when it will be called up on to offer a comprehensive, constructive program of its own. As Tony Benn has pointed out (*In These Times*, July 15), for far too long our perspectives have been set too low. In Bri-

public sector in all capitalist countries is made up, not of those industries whose acquisition was decided upon as a matter of social policy, but primarily of the "failed offspring of private capitalism."

In the United States, which has a relatively small public sector, urban mass transit and rail passenger service (AM-TRAK) both passed into public hands only after they had long been unprofitable and the capital stock had deteriorated and become mostly obsolete. Once under public control, government mismanagement has been blamed for their shortcomings and needed subsidies.

Meanwhile, the oil industry, which along with the automobile industry is responsible for much of our problems with inflation and unemployment, is seemingly immune from public control. Indeed, it is the oil industry that is the biggest single beneficiary of Reagan's tax bill, having been granted \$32 billion in tax relief, despite the fact that three-quarters of all corporate profits in this country go to the oil companies.

Social ownership of energy resources in the United States could do many things, all beneficial to the American people. It could greatly reduce the need for taxes to pay for social services, it could control inflation by providing price stability and predictability as a matter of policy. It could set prices for different products, such as home heating oil, to give relief to homeowners, along socially rational lines. And it could use oil profits rapidly



One was greater social control of investment, so that the country's social ills could be rationally confronted. The other was an attack on the policies of recent decades as being already too socialistic, a reliance on private profit as a motive and a further strengthening of the large corporations as a method to stimulate the economy. With a left totally in disarray and unprepared to meet the challenge, and a right heavily financed and well-organized within the Republican Party, there was never a contest. So now we have Reagan's "new" partnership of the citizen and business being put forward as America's great hope.

But this victory of the right and of cor-

tain, Labour has demonstrated the power to disrupt the market economy, and when in office it has taken a turn administering "a system that is fundamentally unjust in its own operation." But, Benn insists, "the dislocation of a market economy, or the administration by labor or by socialists of a market economy is not an adequate answer to the problems that face us."

Galbraith, perhaps inadvertently, makes a similar point when he argues that what passes for socialism in Britain and the United States "comes not from socialists, but when the banks tell a despairing corporation that its only chance is Washington or Whitehall." Indeed, the

to develop alternative renewable sources of energy, instead of exerting pressure to limit such development as the industry now does.

A year or two ago, various polls showed that some 25 percent of Americans favored public ownership of the oil industry, even at a time when no public campaign existed for it. Here clearly is one direction in which a revitalized left can move when Reagan and his policies lose their glow. There are surely many others. The point is not to put forward a panacea, but to begin preparing for the swing back to the left in a way that will leave us prepared to offer more than the too modest proposals of the past. ■

LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

ABORTION

I HAVE BEEN SUBSCRIBING TO YOUR paper for almost two years and I have enjoyed your interesting and informed reporting.

However, I would like to take issue with Diana Johnstone's column, "Left can take heart from abortion vote" (ITT, June 3). I do not think that a vote in support of the destruction of human physical life in any form is, as Johnstone would claim, "a sign that Italy has indeed evolved into a mature, civilized country."

I regret that the pro-abortion movement is being so much associated with the left just as much as I regret that the pro-life movement is being linked with the ultra-conservative right.

—Shelia McMullin
Rochester, N.Y.

WILL HISTORY REPEAT?

ENCLOSED IS A SMALL AMOUNT TO help ITT fight the political and financial attacks of the New Right. Your coverage of events, presented within a socialist critique of American society, is unique among the political publications of this country.

The right fears your role of spreading ideas vital to those fighting the right's attempt to dominate American political life. This fear is not simply because of the ability of ITT to connect today's problems with capitalism, but from the effects your individual articles have on current political issues.

Your articles on Lefever and his "human rights" beliefs helped bring about his defeat and earn a personal attack from him. Your coverage of the lies of the Reagan administration on El Salvador have helped many in their attempts to change current U.S. policy.

ITT has a vital role in helping to form a consensus among the left on ways to meet the challenge of the '80s. It has an important place in the communication of those ideas to the current political awakening of students. This "newer left" faces problems similar to the problems of the earlier generation. For in spite of their efforts, few structural changes occurred to prevent renewed militarism.

As a 21-year-old student of American history, ITT plays a vital role in the political life of myself and my friends.

—Allen Smith
Sewanee, Tenn.

GET THE PICTURE?

MARTHA ROSLER'S THOUGHTFUL and probing essay on photojournalist Susan Meiselas' book *Nicaragua*, June 1978-July 1979 (ITT, June 17) makes significant contributions to an analysis of contemporary photojournalism, especially war photography. But somehow it misses the boat in assessing Meiselas' work.

Rosler complains of a "fairy-tale" simplification of the Nicaraguan revolution, of a design that reproduces the "exoticism of fashion photography," and a focus on individuals that ignores "collectivity and united purpose." Yet she herself acknowledges the book's emphasis on images of "ordinary people," the mass protagonists of the Nicaraguan revolution, presented in such a way as to facilitate the reader's identification with the men, women and chil-

dren who overthrew Somoza. What Rosler calls "an unfathomable project" is precisely what Meiselas' photographs elucidate and interpret—the extraordinary power of a people when they have organized to put an end to tyranny.

The British author and art critic John Berger has commented that Meiselas' "enormous control, a sense of everyday, and a vitality rooted in an active community" overcome the "gore and aestheticization of violence" almost inherent in color photography of war and poverty. Meiselas' contribution, above all else, was to have stood with the people, recording with a sympathetic eye the battles, the intimate and transcendent moments of a struggle in which all Americans were involved and had a stake.

Curiously absent from the Rosler review is any mention of the political statement the book makes precisely at a time when the Reagan administration has resumed the historic U.S. policy aimed at blocking progressive and democratic change in Nicaragua and all Central America. Meiselas and Pantheon Press deserve recognition for making this statement and contributing to the growing anti-interventionist movement in this country.

It is significant that the Meiselas book has been unfavorably reviewed in several major U.S. establishment papers—all with transparent political bias—and sad to see such a negative assessment in a progressive paper like *In These Times*.

—Robert Cohen
Chicago

A POOR EXCUSE

IN THE RECENT ARTICLE ABOUT THE Parton-Balanoff election for District Director in the Steelworkers Union (ITT, June 17), Jim Balanoff tries to blame his loss on apathy. The article states there was 6,000 votes less in this election than the last election four years ago.

The truth is that in 1977, the 52,313 members who cast votes for the candidates for District Director totalled 37.3 percent of the then 140,000 members in District 31. In 1981, 45,903 members cast votes. This was an increase in percentage to 41.7 percent of the 110,000 members currently employed in the District. A greater percentage of steelworkers voted in District 31 this time opposed to four years ago. Balanoff will have to search somewhere else for his loss.

—Doug Nelson
Local 1033, Steelworkers
Chicago

A MATTER OF INTERPRETATION

CAROL DUNCAN (ITT, JUNE 3) DOESN'T like the painting of the three hard hats chosen for the cover of *Images of Labor* because they are "simply and purely cleverly placed shapes" and because the "artist aggressively and knowingly denies the other meanings and associations hard hats have." Since when is a "shape" a "meaning and association"?

Her explanation for this unfortunate occurrence is that in the modern art market, the individual artist has to strive for uniqueness, which functions as an "icon of individualism." The production relationships which domi-

nate the artist stamp the art product, which when decoded turns out to be another commodity—pure exchange value. This is exactly the fate of the products of wage labor, which the painting itself expresses.

The hard hats literally and figuratively are commodities—the cell form of capital. The artist displays them upside down and right side up, symbolizing commodity fetishism. The most distant hat, which rests on its side, is a comic commentary on the upside down world of the commodity. How can Carol Duncan not see that the artist works the dialectic between capitalist production and consumption for all it's worth?

The ice-cream colors contrast with the general form of the hats together, a concrete sewer pipe. The middle hat itself looks like a toilet or a bathtub, suggesting that hardhats build houses as well as sewer pipes. The forms of the hats as a whole look very much like a snapshot of Snoopy, taken from the rear.

Carol Duncan now doesn't have to "wonder who will smile at this work." There are no pure forms outside of the *Republic*. Reductionism to the labor metaphysic is as unwelcome in the cultural field as it is in social science and political theory.

—Jim O'Connor
Santa Cruz, Calif.

EXPERT APPROVAL

JUST HAVING READ YOUR LATEST issue, I feel moved to make a birthday gift to the revolutionary spirit of 1776 in the form of a contribution to *In These Times*.

In particular, you might be interested in my judgment as an expert on European politics that Diana Johnstone's columns are superb. Once again her report on "Communists in the cabinet" mentioned facts that the *New York Times* did not see fit to print and placed them into a historical perspective that transcends the ordinary journalistic efforts that pass for news analysis in the establishment press.

—Charles R. Naef
Assistant Professor, Colgate University
Hamilton, NY

GREAT PICTURES

AFTER READING JOE CUOMO'S Attack on Martha Rosler's review of the McMullin and Meiselas books (ITT, July 1), I ran into a copy of Meiselas' book at a friend's. "What do you think of it?" I asked. "The pictures are great," she said. "Great pictures," her husband said.

What else could they say? The pictures are interesting but totally unexplained. The text at the end is a series of quotes on the evil of the Somoza regime and the U.S. domination of the Nicaraguan people, and the heroism of those those who resisted. That must be what the pictures are about, but what they show, without any explanation for 80 pages, is romantic shots of macho gunmen in funky, but colorful clothes and a great deal of unexplained violence and terror. The main device in most pictures is the combination of surprising contrasts—a tank and a Coca-Cola sign, a guy in a striped t-shirt brandishing a sword, a dismembered body in a calm landscape. There is a clarinetist, in fatigues with a rifle on his back, playing two men crouching behind sandbags with assault rifles. Why do they crouch, grimace and aim, while he stands above the top of the barricade?

John Berger's blurb on the book's back is wrong. It is not true that "Susan Meiselas' extraordinary photographs take us right inside a revolutionary movement and speak on behalf of its participants." They take us only up to the outside journalist's street-side fantasies. It gets no closer than network news, only more sophisticated.

I see a photo of a woman pushing a wheelbarrow, looking back enigmatically. What is the emotion in her face? I can't tell. She's avoiding the photo-

grapher. Oh, I see there is a corpse in the wheelbarrow. Fifty pages later I read that it is her husband. Nothing else. Is he a civilian victim or a National Guardsman? A traitor or a patriot?

The picture that moved me most was one of terrified prisoners. The caption, 35 pages away, says they are National Guardsmen. Should I believe it? These aren't news photos, they are a collection of pictures combined with a text favoring the victors after their victory.

The lack of analysis in this book is an insurmountable flaw. Rosler is right. Without an explanation this book can be used for any purpose by either side. Meiselas may sincerely think she is being revolutionary, and intend to support the Nicaraguan revolution. This book, however, is only commercially successful photojournalism. It has no coherent politics.

—Gary Tarlov
Amherst, Mass.

SUBJECTS OF FATE

IT IS DISHEARTENING THAT SUSAN Moeller has portrayed migrant farmworkers as passive objects of fate (ITT, July 15). Every local newspaper does its annual piece on the plight of migrant farmworkers, never analyzing the causes or solutions but describing the "rat infested housing" and the "raw sewage under the trailer." It is a shame that ITT has fallen into this dreary pattern.

The critical issue for farmworkers is self-organization and self-determination. Farmworkers do not want to be protected like some endangered species. They are workers who intend to take part in deciding what is a fair wage, safe working conditions and decent housing.

To a greater extent than other employees, farmworkers are vulnerable when challenging the status quo. Eviction follows being fired. The hazards are compounded by the possibility of being blacklisted without any money in a strange state. Minimum legal protection in the areas of crewleader abuse, pesticides, wages, child labor, housing and worker safety are without teeth if workers aren't organized to help enforce them.

Forced dependence on government "programs" keeps farmworkers from making systematic demands while it subsidizes the food processing industry. Lack of continuity in the workplace, housing, schools, churches and community make it difficult to organize.

Absence of elected representation is an obvious result of the "permanent migration" yet it is not often identified as the cause of an unfranchised people.

—Martha McFerran
Boycott Coordinator
Chicago FLOC Support Group

FIGHTING PORNOGRAPHY WITH SEXISM

IN A RECENT COMMENTARY ON GRASS-roots censorship (ITT, June 3) Anthony Schmitz seems to be suggesting that the issue of the freedom to read boils down to every boy's right to a secret picture of Marilyn Monroe, and the un-hypocritically expressed sentiment, "I like dirty books." There are certainly some good reasons to oppose censorship, but applauding the promotion of women as sex symbols is not one of them.

Schmitz implies that censorship of pornography is wrong because sexist literature is desirable, whereas the correct argument is that censorship of such literature is wrong because freedom of speech is a value worth maintaining. Clearly the cost associated with this freedom is the potential reinforcement of sexist values, yet such reinforcement need not be the consequence if feminists oppose pornography not with censorship but with counter-demonstration and literature.

It is distressing to see the left maintain its sexism precisely when the right is seeking to dismantle recent feminist gains.

—Tina Morris and David Grusky
Portland, Ore.

SAMUEL EPSTEIN

It costs us all more not to regulate

By Samuel Epstein

TRADITIONALLY, GOVERNMENT regulation by agencies such as the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Food and Drug Administration, the Federal Aviation Administration and the Federal Communications Commission was designed to rationalize and stabilize the industries affected and to assure a rough equality of service, cost and safety to commercial and private consumers. The agencies themselves were most frequently run by appointees from the industries being regulated and functioned to protect the interests of the major corporations in each field.

More recent regulatory legislation, such as the Environmental Protection Act and the Occupational Safety and Health Act has been designed to protect consumers, workers and society at large from unhealthy conditions of work or from pollution of the environment. These newer social regulations have imposed certain standards on various industries and have forced the industries to pay some of the costs formerly borne by workers, consumers and the communities in which the industries are located.

This new social regulation has added to corporations' costs, and the higher costs have either been absorbed in the form of lower profits or passed on to the consumers in higher prices. Often done in a bureaucratic manner, this has been unpopular, especially with the corporations involved, and has resulted in attacks on the new forms of regulation.

Current attacks on social regulation date from the Ford administration, which imposed requirements for "inflationary impact statements" (later changed to "economic impact statements") before major regulations could be promulgated. In March 1978, President Carter required "regulatory analyses." Since then, growing restrictions on social regulations, particularly those affecting health and the environment, have been imposed through the Regulatory Analysis Review Group of the Council on Wage and Price Stability and, more recently, through President

Reagan's Office of Management and Budget.

Ever sensitive to shifting political climates, industry is now evolving "economic" arguments to block environmental health and safety regulation. We are thus witnessing a shift of concern away from health and environmental effects toward the direct cost to corporations. The major tool of this new strategy is cost-benefit analysis, which is generally buttressed by allegations that regulation inhibits technological innovation and new product development and is inflationary. These evolving corporate strategies complement traditional mythologies that deny risk and blame the victim.

The problems of cost-benefit analysis.

Cost-benefit analysis is superficially an attractive basis for public policy, because it appears to strike a "neutral" balance between the costs of proposed regulations and their anticipated benefits. But while the costs of regulation are immediate and can easily be given a dollar figure, the benefits—such as the prevention of future disease—are delayed often by several decades and can only be assigned a dollar cost with difficulty, if at all. Moreover, the immediate costs of regulation are incurred by the private sector, which has effective lobbies to stop it, while no public constituency exists to point up future costs from failure to regulate now. In any case, most occupational groups are unaware of the scope and extent of such future costs, which will be borne involuntarily and individually.

Both industry and academic economists, waxing eloquent against regulatory costs and for the mythical "free market," often cloak their poorly documented estimates of costs and social benefits in flag-waving demands for unfettered entrepreneurialism. Even if they admit the benefits of regulation, they insist that benefits cannot be taken into account unless they are quantified in dollars.

And aside from the policy bias in cost-benefit analysis, the estimates of costs and benefits are themselves fundamentally flawed. The cost estimates for engineering controls or process and product

substitution have been almost exclusively developed by the industry being regulated and their consultants with no opportunity for independent validation. Regulatory agencies are not adequately staffed for this purpose. Not surprisingly, industry cost estimates are often exaggerated, even grossly so. At the same time, these estimates usually ignore a wide range of indirect benefits such as resource conservation, recycling and recovery that actually improve industrial efficiency.

Over and above exaggerated and narrowly focused cost estimates, the industry analyses ignore the possibilities of alternative or new technologies, and are implicitly based on the assumption that the products or processes in question are socially desirable. This is a questionable assumption in view of the absence of any requirement for efficacy for most industrial chemicals (other than pharmaceuticals, under the 1962 Kefauver-Harris Amendment to the Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act). Even for hazardous industrial products with proven efficacy, less hazardous, similarly effective substitutes may be available, and their use could well avoid regulatory costs.

Two major types of benefits from regu-

are ignored or minimized in most industry cost-benefit estimates. And it must be admitted that it is easier to define and assign costs to the indirect benefits than it is for direct benefits.

The direct benefits of social regulation have not been defined partly because of inherent difficulties and uncertainties, but primarily because—as the Supreme Court has recently ruled—such regulation has been viewed as a social goal that cannot be contingent on the narrow criterion of cost.

The 1906 Federal Meat Inspection Act, for example, was promulgated to ensure that meat would not be heavily contaminated with bacteria or other adulterants. But we would probably still not have such a regulation if its supporters had been required to prove that the regulatory costs to the meat industry were over-balanced by the defined costs to society of food poisoning and other diseases that could be anticipated in the absence of such regulation.

Direct benefits are hard to estimate because they are delayed and poorly perceived and because it is hard to put a dollar figure on them. There are, for example, overwhelming problems in devel-



"I TELL YA' HERB, IF WE TRIED TO COMPLY WITH ALL THESE DAMN OSHA SAFETY REGULATIONS IT WOULD JUST KILL OFF INDUSTRY!"

lation must be clearly recognized: the direct and the indirect. Direct benefits include reduction of pain, suffering and disease and improvement in environmental quality. Indirect benefits are those accruing to industry and society as a by-product of the intended goals of regulation. These include what may be called "technology-forcing" effects—the incentives for innovation and improvements in efficiency and the growth of anti-pollution industries. Both direct and indirect benefits

opening quantitative extrapolations of human risk from animal data on any one carcinogen, let alone from one such carcinogen in conjunction with other carcinogens and pollutants in air, water, food and the workplace. It is also very difficult to extrapolate from high-dose occupational data to low-dose exposures among the general public. Other problems include defining the duration of exposure, the size of the population group or environment at risk, the effects on future gen-

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erations and, finally, the control groups or environments.

If such problems of definition and quantification of future adverse effects from current failure to regulate are difficult, their dollar costs are even more difficult to estimate. While the value of individual health could well be estimated in terms of life expectancy and wage-earning capacity, the acceptability of such actuarial practices as an instrument of social policy is questionable. There are similar differences in personal valuation of health and life which limit the hazard-pay approach favored by industry. The higher pay a worker is willing to accept for hazardous work is very much less than the valuation he or she places on personal health once impaired.

Economic activity as a result of environmental regulations has been shown by government estimates to stimulate rather than depress the economy. In 1977 environmental regulations generated direct employment of 750,000 jobs and the total of direct and indirect jobs generated is estimated at 2.2 million. A 1980 estimate by the Council on Environmental Quality indicates that environmental regulations have added only 0.1 percent to the Consumer Price Index (and that at a time of double digit inflation), reduced unemployment by 0.4 percent, and increased GNP by \$9.3 billion. The same report demonstrates that the annual benefits of air quality regulation since 1970 have been \$21.4 billion, and that total annual benefits in 1985 due to improved water quality will be \$12.3 billion.

A recent literature search by the National Science Foundation found that there has been almost no effort to measure or even to model in a rigorous way the impact of environmental regulations on technological innovation in the United States. But a similar study in five foreign countries found that in each nation environmental regulations had stimulated major innovations among certain large industries.

During its 1974 recession, Japan used strict pollution control legislation to boost construction and engineering and hence restimulate the economy. Some 20 percent of Japan's economic growth since 1974 has been attributed to its strict environmental controls. Sweden used similar measures in 1970 when faced by economic recession. The government implemented strict pollution controls and offered cash grants of up to 75 percent for purchase of abatement technology. The result was a major environmental clean-up, and a massive stimulation of the economy, particularly for construction, equipment and chemical industries.

A 1980 MIT study, based on an extensive computerized bibliography and regulatory documents and analyses from six federal agencies, has identified substantial public benefits from regulations on environmental pollution, workplace safety and health, automobile and consumer safety, and food and drug safety and quality. While some of these benefits were assigned a dollar cost, the study concludes that there are great limitations in cost benefit approaches: "The philosophical and ethical issues raised by placing economic values on such intangibles

Looking at the cost of past failures to regulate makes the need more clear.

as human life, chronic disease, injury, and pain and suffering will continue to limit the ability of analysts to perform benefits studies without unavoidably making value judgments that are more properly performed by publicly accountable decision-makers or by the society at large. Finally, the time and effort required to perform elaborate regulatory analyses must be weighed against the use of the same public resources without delay to protect health and safety and to preserve environmental quality through vigorous regulatory programs."

Costs of the failure to regulate.

Examining the cost of past failure to regulate is a more practical method of measuring the potential benefits of regulation. Varying estimates have been made of the costs of cleaning up the James

River in Virginia from kepone contamination (aside from major losses to the fish and shellfish industry); the costs of cleaning up the Hudson River from PCB contamination; the costs of compensating hazardous waste sites' property damage and relocating residents (quite apart from poorly defined health effects, which are beginning to surface); the multi-million dollar liability of manufacturers for cancers linked to the marketing of untested products or products known to be carcinogenic in animals; the multi-million dollar costs of diagnosing and treating occupational cancers incurred by exposure of workers to untested or carcinogenic products or processes; and the \$30 billion total annual costs of cancer, much of which is now known to be preventable. These are but a few costs that could have been avoided by relatively minor past investments in pollution abatement technology and testing.

It must be recognized that these costs reflect exposures decades ago when petrochemical production was much less than it is today. Production of synthetic organic chemicals was 300 times greater in 1976 than in 1940. It must also be recognized, that prior to the advent of the Toxic Substances Control Act in 1976, with the exception of special purposes legislation and regulation for food addi-

tives, drugs and pesticides, there were no requirements for pretesting industrial chemicals for adverse health effects, let alone ecological effects. Thus, there is every reason to anticipate that the scale and the extent of such effects in the future will be much greater than in the past.

There is already evidence of rising cancer mortality rates, both overall and on an organ-specific basis that cannot be explained away by smoking. Furthermore, a 1978 blue-ribbon HEW committee has recognized that past exposure of workers to just a few occupational carcinogens will result in up to 38 percent of all cancers in the coming decades.

Social goals should continually be set on the basis of broad political and humanitarian concerns. Once these are set by open democratic decision-making processes, it is reasonable that different methods of achieving these goals be weighed by cost-effective analyses. Thus, our goals should be based on the values of a pluralistic society, and the means to achieve these goals can then be chosen on a least-cost, most-efficacious basis. This is the proper route to achieving a healthy and environmentally sound nation. ■

Samuel Epstein is Professor of Public Health at the University of Illinois, and author of The Politics of Cancer.
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IN THESE TIMES

BEHIND THE LINES

A good first step in a long march

The Appeal reported gleefully that its agents were "constantly devising methods of reaching new territory." Louis Klamroth, a particularly energetic hustler, bicycled all over the Midwest selling Socialist literature, and, despite being "rotten egged, knocked down and clubbed, drenched with fire hose and water bucket and deported" he sold over 100,000 subscriptions...

Grass-roots Socialism
James R. Green

By Bob Nicklas



WHEN AMERICA'S socialist press was in its heyday, there were no such things as direct mail, toll-free numbers, or word-processed letters that repeat your first name in each paragraph. Instead, newspapers like the *Appeal to Reason* relied on a "subscription army"—thousands of readers who volunteered their time to introduce the paper to friends and neighbors. Their methods were simple but brought startling results—even by today's standards.

Around 1900, when the *Appeal to Reason* had been publishing for five years and had a circulation of 30,000, editor J.A. Wayland began organizing his "salesman-soldiers." By 1912 over

60,000 readers had joined the subscription army and the *Appeal's* circulation mushroomed to 750,000—larger than any other weekly periodical published in the U.S. at that time, including the *Saturday Evening Post*. The *Appeal* did have the benefit of a growing Socialist Party, but most historians give equal credit for its circulation growth to the untiring work of its readers.

Subscription armies have become a thing of the past—now even small left newspapers use modern marketing tools like direct mail to reach new subscribers. The new technologies are effective—though costly—ways to reach out to a wider audience. But by itself direct mail will never reach all the people that we should be contacting—people like your friend who has quit subscribing to publications because he or she can't find anything worth reading.

Building a newspaper like *In These Times* requires personal contact. We still need the help of a circulation army and the results of our recent summer gift sub campaign indicate that some of you agree.

This summer's campaign brought in more than 1,800 gift subscriptions. That's five times the number of gifts given during the same period last year. Thanks to *In These Times'* readers the newspaper's circulation took a significant jump and, equally important, our

political perspective now reaches more people than ever before. If this same level of gift giving was sustained throughout the year, our circulation would grow by almost 10,000 readers—without any other form of promotion.

Like the *Appeal to Reason* in 1900, *In These Times* is almost five years old and has a circulation approaching 30,000. We've still got a ways to go before we match the *Appeal's* success, but your willingness to promote the newspaper to friends and neighbors can keep us headed in the right direction.

The initial results of our summer fundraising appeal also have given us reason to be optimistic about the future. So far we have received \$30,000 in contributions from more than 1,000 readers. This brings us close to our goal of \$40,000—the money that we must raise by Sept. 1 to maintain our present level of operation. We thank those of you who have made a contribution and urge those of you who have not to do so.

Without the reader support that was demonstrated again this summer in our gift sub and fundraising drives, there would not be an *In These Times*. As editor Jim Weinstein pointed out in these pages several weeks ago, we have an opportunity to build a viable left that can be a force in American politics. You are insuring that *In These Times* will continue to play an important role in this process. ■

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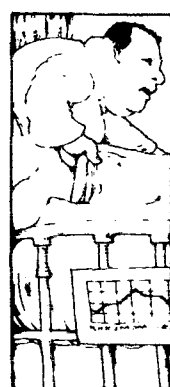
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INPRINT

INTELLECTUAL HISTORY

Explanations of Nazism became cold war tools

The Nazi Question: an essay on the interpretations of National Socialism (1922-1975)
By Pierre Aycoberry
Pantheon, 257 pp., \$6.95

By D.G. Green

Of the many 20th-century disasters that haunt our imagination, National Socialism, in many ways the most disastrous, is also the most enigmatic. The very scope of Nazism's diseased accomplishments can paralyze historical thinking.

As the subtitle suggests, this book is an attempt to produce an historiography of Nazism. *The Nazi Question* is far from easy reading—theories and analyses fly by so quickly that a beginner would find the book more bewildering than useful. But Aycoberry seems to have digested thoroughly a half-century's historical production in German, French and English.

The first section of the book is devoted to contemporary interpretations—those of Nazis, conservatives, "humanistic" liberals, economic Marxists, sociologists and psychologists. Within each category, there is a movement from a "single-cause" explanation of Nazism to one of greater complexity, sometimes against the interpreters' will. Official Marxism especially has constantly had to be revised to account for new facts.

Chronological chapters cover the period 1939-1960: war, occupation and cold war. One issue that pre-war interpreters did not consider has the greatest resonance for us: "Organized terror in the service of a new elite." In the '60s, according to Aycoberry, cold war orthodoxy broke down

on both sides, and his last chapters are accordingly thematic.

A few topics recur in the interpretation of Nazism. One is the question, How German is it? The historian Gordon Craig recently lamented our tendency to see all of German history since the Napoleonic era as but a prelude to Nazism. Particularly in American historical writing, it can become a form of reductive anti-Teutonism (usually invoking Tacitus at some point). For example, William Manchester's excellent *The Arms of Krupp* ends with an evocation of the eternal German barbarian lurking in the forests, waiting for the next chance to strike.

Another recurring question—Is Nazism a disease of the soul or the body politic? Early Communist theories advanced the righteously simple notion that fascism was but the latest guise of the capitalist class, so that the Nazi question became, as in Daniel Guérin's influential Trotskyist interpretation, the problem of defining the links between fascism and big business. Symmetrically, Western social scientists after the war tended to pursue psychological explanations of Nazism (building on the earlier work of Wilhelm Reich and others) by way of constructing general theories of "totalitarianism." In these theories questions of class disappeared, and so did differences between Nazis and Communists. As Aycoberry notes, these were "weapons of the cold war."

Then was the Holocaust a cause or a result of the war? How important was Nazi ideology? This is largely a post-war question, and fairly recent at that, for most interpreters of Nazism have treated its ideology

Sketch of a Nazi soldier, drawn by a German artist during World War II



as a cover for something else, whether class aggression or atavistic drives. Phenomenology and linguistic analysis are here added to the historian's battery of tools. It's unfortunate that Aycoberry's book stops at 1975, for he is unable to consider either Richard Rubenstein's *The Cunning of History*, which has more fresh thinking on the Holocaust packed into its 100 pages than most writers could accomplish in a thousand, or Zeev Sternhell's important essay "Fascist Ideology" (collected in *Fascism: A Reader's Guide*, W. Laqueur, ed.). Sternhell differentiates between fascism and Nazism on the basis that "the degree of extremism in a political movement radically alters the very nature of that movement."

A fascinating subject still to be explored is the "popular" as opposed to the "intellectual" history of Nazism; that is, images of Nazism in the schools, in fiction, in the media. The recent debate over the TV series *Holocaust* raised some of the issues such a study would have to deal with, since Nazism has become such an all-purpose bogey for our culture. Was it a genuine step forward in popular understanding, or did its very form retard that understanding?

Aycoberry neglects cultural studies (the only one he mentions at length is Siegfried Kracauer's influential *From Caligari to Hitler*, which purported to demonstrate how the psychological tensions that produced Nazism were foreshadowed in German films of the Weimar era). Thus he doesn't mention such provocative studies as Berthold Hinz' *Art in the Third Reich*.

The Nazi Question is a valuable progress report on this important intellectual project. ■

SCIENCE

The panda's thumb takes aim at Darwin

The Panda's Thumb: More Reflections in Natural History
By Stephen Jay Gould
Norton, 343 pp., \$12.95

By Kubet Luchterhand

Stephen Jay Gould, a Harvard natural historian, takes an unusual and personal approach to scientific issues. Those familiar with his column in *Natural History*, from which these selections are drawn, know that he usually connects specific natural wonders he discusses with general scientific insights. He teases his readers along from initial ge-whizzing toward subtle understanding. Overdeveloped hand bones—the panda's thumbs—lead to appreciation of the mechanisms of natural selection; unusual hinge joints in a snake's palate provide a clue to the nature of genetic mutations; and the scablands of western Washington State lead us to think about the way the minds of geologists work. This last—the workings of the minds of natural historians—is really what the book is about.

Panda's Thumb is especially provocative, though not entirely convincing, in discussing Darwin's theory of natural selection and in probing how species develop. Gould contends that natural historians, especially evolutionary biologists, have been

overimpressed with the gradual and steady pace of many natural processes. According to Gould, sudden large mutations, catastrophes, and other dramatic changes of state are more common and important than is usually believed.

For example, Gould points out that plants and animals that reproduce by self-fertilization can form new species simply by doubling the chromosomes of a single individual and having that individual propagate itself by self-fertilization. This is common in some types of plants and invertebrates, and Gould shows that it is a type of evolutionary change little emphasized in discussions of evolution and natural selection.

Darwin defended.

What begins as a series of interesting examples of ways large evolutionary changes can take place rapidly soon leads, however, to highly questionable generalizations about the formation of species. Gould claims that mechanism other than gradual natural selection have been responsible for most speciation and that "macroevolutionary" mechanisms may be more important than ordinary natural selection in a great many speciation events.

Gould believes that Darwin and his supporters were mistaken in one of their basic argu-

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ments. Darwin thought that natural selection would act to produce gradual evolution of ever better, ever more efficient adaptations, and he stressed that natural selection could only act upon variations within an existing pattern of adaptation. Gould claims that "macroevolutionary" mechanisms may act instead of natural selection during the formation of many species.

Gould points out that many evolutionary changes seem to have taken place rapidly during relatively short periods of time, followed by longer periods with either very slow or no evolutionary change. This pattern of rapid bursts of change followed by long periods of stability is called "punctuated equilibrium" and Gould (along with many other paleobiologists) argues that punctuated equilibrium is both new and fundamentally different from Darwin's "gradualistic" model.

The emphasis on differences in evolutionary rates between periods of change and quiescence is new, but it is not clear that the mechanisms that produce those differences are different from Darwinian natural selection. There is strong evidence that evolution does often proceed in the manner described as punctuated equilibrium. However, in all the specific cases that Gould presents, the mechanism involved is only very strong Darwinian natural selection acting in tiny, reproductively isolated local populations.

With snakes and scablands, Gould enters the mind of the natural historian.

Though Darwinian natural selection may eventually prove inadequate to explain some sorts of evolutionary changes, it has not yet failed us. At the moment, punctuated equilibrium stands as an important refinement of Darwin's ideas, not a replacement for them.

Enough criticism. Even with such criticism, this book makes fascinating reading for specialist and lay person alike. Gould has the capacity to inform and entertain at the same time. He explains, for example,

Enough criticism.

land or livestock because the wages are barren. The second part describes the cult of the Tio (uncle) among Bolivian tin miners. The Tio is an icon venerated as a power of life and death in the mine. The body can be sculptured from mineral, with miners' helmet light bulbs for eyes; it can be an apparition as well, like a blond, cowboy-hatted gringo or a succubus offering riches in exchange for one's soul. Both areas are sites of trade unionism and working-class militancy—how to explain the survival of these beliefs? They are, argues Taussig, responses "to what they see as an evil and destructive way of ordering economic life," registering "what it means to lose control over the means of production and to be controlled by them." Further, the beliefs "may even stimulate the political action to thwart or transcend" the commodifying process. Like the beliefs it examines, this book is an indictment of an economic system that forces people to barter their souls for the destructive wealth of things. JB



IN THESE TIMES AUGUST 12-25, 1981 19

that the panda's thumb of the title essay is really a rather slapdash device by means of which pandas grip the bamboo shoots they like to munch. It evolved as a modification of a small and usually insignificant hand bone called the sesamoid, and, since pandas also still have to have their "real" thumbs, it makes a sixth digit on each forepaw. This extra digit works reasonably well for what pandas do with it, but it is not so effective a thumb as, say, that of a chimpanzee or a gorilla. Rather, it is clearly a makeshift mechanism that arose via natural selection because the "real" thumb was being used for something else.

This is all interesting and, to students of comparative anatomy, well known. But Gould goes on to explain that it is exactly the imperfection of the sesamoid thumb that is most telling. Since no sensible or omnipotent deity would have had anything to do with such a jerry-rigged device—one can say to a Moral Majoritarian—its imperfection can be taken as an argument that only natural selection could have produced it.

Kubert Luchterhand teaches anthropology at Roosevelt University and is a research associate at Chicago's Field Museum.

NOTEBOOK

Borges and His Fiction

By Gene H. Bell-Villada
University of North Carolina Press, 292 pp., \$10

This is a wide-ranging but careful study of the man's fiction, his life and influences. Mixing sociology and polemics with careful literary analysis, he discusses Argentine history, the literary stock market and the aesthetics of dandyism, and he displays a tenacious hold of facts that often lead to insights.

Bell-Villada likes a lot of early Borges, but he dismisses some of the middle and nearly all of the later stuff as thin, repetitious and hackneyed.

The Borges industry, he points out, thrives. He commands large lecture fees from prestigious halls and publishes in the *New Yorker*. It's relatively easy to sell a writer to a lot of different people if, like the sybil, he stays short, terse and laconic, and even dedicated leftists such as Cortazar and Carpenter seem to believe they learned the value of artifice from him. But Bell also suggests that Borges was introduced to Americans as a sort of Pepto Bismol for the diarrhea of '60s and '70s literary bouts of mock political involvement. Bell believes that Solzhenitsen's medievalism has been assigned that role for the present. RE

A Shorter Workweek in the 1980s

By William McCaughey Jr.
Thistlerose Publications, 5161 East County Line Rd., White Bear Lake, MN 55110, 308 pp., \$6.95

That the shortening of the hours of work has not found many advocates during recent discussions of high unemployment and allegedly low productivity is a commentary on both the state of the labor movement and on the political-ideological clout of big business. McCaughey, a member of the General Committee for a Shorter Work Week, has produced a thorough summary of the case for cutting hours, combining statistical evidence and commonsense in a compelling argument that squarely addresses the issues of joblessness and efficiency. *Workweek* fully refutes the criticisms that reducing labor time is inflationary, unattractive to supposedly wage-conscious workers, ill-suited to a recession-plagued economy or inefficient in terms of energy consumption. Congressman John Conyers, sponsor of Fair Labor Standards Act amendments designed to institute a 35-hour week, contributes a brief forward. DRR

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The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America

By Michael T. Taussig
University of North Carolina Press, 264 pp., \$19.50

Taussig describes his book as a contribution to the "deconstruction of the spirit of evil in capitalist relations of production." His protagonists are two South American peasant groups undergoing proletarianization. Taussig shows the relationship between this experience and beliefs and practices that propitiate the devil. The book is divided into two social histories. The first concerns the belief in a secret "devil contract" held among descendants of African slaves working as day laborers on big plantations in western Colombia. They believe that the contract will increase their productivity and hence their wage; but the money cannot be invested in

land or livestock because the wages are barren. The second part describes the cult of the Tio (uncle) among Bolivian tin miners. The Tio is an icon venerated as a power of life and death in the mine. The body can be sculptured from mineral, with miners' helmet light bulbs for eyes; it can be an apparition as well, like a blond, cowboy-hatted gringo or a succubus offering riches in exchange for one's soul. Both areas are sites of trade unionism and working-class militancy—how to explain the survival of these beliefs? They are, argues Taussig, responses "to what they see as an evil and destructive way of ordering economic life," registering "what it means to lose control over the means of production and to be controlled by them." Further, the beliefs "may even stimulate the political action to thwart or transcend" the commodifying process. Like the beliefs it examines, this book is an indictment of an economic system that forces people to barter their souls for the destructive wealth of things. JB

Traditions of Independence:

British Cinema in the '30s

By Don Macpherson, ed.
British Film Institute/N.Y. Zoetrope, 31 E. 12th St., NY, NY 10003, 226 pp., \$14.50

This book contains a storehouse of information about left-wing film culture in '30s England—descriptions of films and how they were made and shown despite government censorship and police opposition, articles, debates and manifestos reprinted from cine-journals and left newspapers,

plus a filmography of independent films from the U.S. and Spain as well as England, then shown in England. There were many parallels with the American experience at the time. Not only the subjects of films and concerns but often names of production units were the same. In both countries newsreels got news out about events not reported in mainstream media. Some films were critical analyses of "The March of Time." As the decade progressed more elaborate and less agitational films were produced on both domestic and international subjects. At the same time in both countries networks of film societies were established for a broad audience of film buffs, students and intellectuals. Tom Brandon was instrumental in setting them up in the U.S.; in England the main figure was Ivor Montagu. MK

July's People

By Nadine Gordimer
Viking, 119 pp., \$10.95

Gordimer faces squarely the predicament of the white liberal in a South Africa where the blacks are in the process of winning back their homeland. She has a painfully acute physical sense of the interdependencies of people in a racist society, of how one's sexuality is so determined by power or powerlessness, of how just and unjust men coexist, and women judge them.

Here she takes her text from Gramsci's *Prison Notebooks*: "The old is dying and the new cannot be born." The "morbid symptoms" of this period are her subject. Her prose is dry and clipped, not written by ear

for ear, but with urgency and a rare kind of rational anxiety.

Bam and Maureen Smales are saved from war-torn Johannesburg by their houseman, July, and brought by jeep inland to his village. Gordimer is gifted in giving us the claustrophobia the family feels in a mud hut, the quarrels of close quarters, the couple's lack of privacy away from the children. July's family responds



ambivalently but kindly to whites in distress and to the presence of July, who had only returned to his homeland once every two years. How ill-adapted for social change is the middle class, the novel tells us.

Nadine Gordimer is far tougher than her foremother, that high-strung asthmatic feminist, Olive Schreiner. Schreiner's *White Bird of Truth* would hardly dare drop a feather on this devastated landscape. It is the power of great art in *July's People* that it can wrench the conscience without spraining the reader's imaginative pleasure. JM

Contributors: John Beverley, Richard Elman, Michael Klein, Jane Marcus, David R. Roediger.

SYLVIA

by Nicole Hollander





WAITING FOR GOOFY

Continued from page 24

light bulb, any cracks in Cinderella's castle. The turn-of-the-century Main Street looks like a brand new child's toy. The buildings have none of the cracks—or character—that comes with weathering. And visitors here are hot but they don't seem to perspire. It's Good for the Kids here—nothing but good, old-fashioned, "me-first" fun. It is the carnival without the Carny, a camera-ready environment.

Total adventure.

Once you're in you have to hit the rides. Only they're not rides. Even first-time visitors call them "attractions." The promotion people call them "total adventures." They are really short, tame little trips through wondrously automated environments, environments so excessive, so overwhelmingly detailed, that—again—nothing is left to one's imagination.

There is a Jungle Boat Ride—average wait, 60 minutes—where the worst thing that can happen is that you might feel a few drops from a waterfall that your computer-controlled boat travels beneath. Plastic jungle animals and natives snap at and threaten us, but only the most sheltered three-year-old would be frightened by them. No, the pleasure of Disney World rides is a secondary pleasure, the kind of pleasure one feels when he notices how cleverly designed something is.

Lines are especially long for the roller coasters: a darkened simulated spaceflight called Space Mountain and a simulated runaway mountain train called Big Thunder Mountain Railroad. We waited 40 minutes to ride the Big Thunder Mountain and were amazed at how patiently we all waited in the 95-degree heat. How can such an impatient do-it-now culture produce such patient people? The secret is in the nature of the wait. For one thing, the lines are always moving. And from the outside, the lines never look as long as they are. The line always winds around through some dimly perceived passageways and rooms hidden out of the sightline of those walking through the park.

Only when a ride breaks down can you see a bit of the ugliness lurking within us all. Even a 10-minute delay can touch off some major griping; we suddenly become aware that, like Cinderella at the ball, our time in the Magic Kingdom is running out, and here we are crowded in line

with a bunch of unpleasant strangers.

When a ride or attraction is delayed, the endlessly repeating tape-loops are revealed for what they are. Messages meant to be heard once are heard three, four, sometimes 10 times. One begins to wonder if there are any human beings working the sound equipment.

Of course there are human employees, some 14,000 of them—most of them in their teens and early 20s, and all garbed in colorful uniforms to look happy. Talk with a few, though, and you see that it doesn't take long for—as the burrito-server told us—"the magic to wear off."

"The job is a no-brainer," the burrito server said. "You just keep the food moving along the assembly line, and there's no break in the line. There are supposed to be regular raises, but I've been here four years, started at \$4.10 an hour, and I'm making \$4.80 now."

The park and its attractions are so automated that the jobs all look like that. Each person—whether she moves a burrito or guides you to a seat on a ride—does the same thing, wears the same uniform, says the same thing thousands of times a day. It is not surprising then that those workers lucky enough to be near a phone—to report equipment breakdowns and communicate with others backstage—are almost always on the phone talking, laughing, with their otherwise bored colleagues.

For an era in which folks supposedly are getting back in touch with their bodies, Disney World is a bewildering anomaly. Absolutely everything is done for you at Disney World. There are no jogging paths in the Magic Kingdom. And only near the hotels and an adjacent River Country attraction can you do something as physical as go swimming or wading. There are few games of skill and not even barbecue grills or picnic groves.

One of the popular rides—which always has at least a half-hour's wait—is called the Grand Prix speedway. It features gas-powered miniature race cars that the drivers—usually youngsters driving their parents—can guide down a path. To keep them from straying—or in some cases—from even steering—the cars straddle a guidepost that automatically keeps the car in line. And though it is called a raceway, the cars can chug along no faster than the ride-on lawn mower. The ride is so packed that unless you pace yourself, you find yourself in a bumper-to-bumper traffic jam. My son Chris soon found out that the only way to have fun was purposely to plow into the car in front and holler "whiplash, whiplash!" He was proudest of the four-car pileup he started. Disney World is good for the kids.

Where else can these kids have their cultural stereotypes reinforced? Mexicans always seem to be doing the hat dance. None of the Pirates of the Caribbean are black. If it's Hawaii it's hula dancers; India, sultans on flying carpets and women in harem pants.

There is one place where politics are taken a bit more seriously. It's called the Hall of Presidents because it features a somewhat awkwardly moving gathering of all of the American presidents. They are life-sized robots that sit, stand, hold their lapels,

look serious and, except for Lincoln, remain silent. They are introduced in order of their election after a superficial audio-visual experience—neither film nor filmstrip—that presents a survey of American history even skimpier than those Constitution study guides handed out to eighth graders. Then come the presidents, a few words from Lincoln about the need for unity, the Battle Hymn of the Republic and the thunderous applause of a grateful audience.

The Pirates are the raunchiest robots in Disney World. They not only get drunk and sing bawdy songs, they loot, pillage and burn the city, round up and chase the women, and even fire cannonballs at our boats. The Haunted Mansion is one of the few things scary enough to frighten a two year old; for those who are older it's not only fun but a master-piece of technology and Mad-Magazine-like detail. Bats attack, a cemetery comes to life, a piano's keys move without a visible player, and hundreds of three-dimensional transparent ghosts dance, cavort, sing and even get inside your car. It's done with mirrors and holograms.

Those who think that Disney World will give them a brief escape from the commercial world may be shocked to find out that the World has more sponsors than a 90-minute TV show. And the commercials, of-

ten masquerading as attractions, can last as long as 28 minutes and appear in three dimensions. The Monsanto Chemical Corporation offers visitors "Circle-Vision 360," an industrial film and presentation of better living through chemicals. Eastern Airlines whisks its visitors through miniature scenes of the world (those Mexican hat dancers again, as well as some Caribbean limbo dancers!). Whispering and singing throughout our journey is a singing group that tells us at the beginning of the two-minute journey "you can do anything if you had wings" and after thrilling us with a widescreen simulation of a plane takeoff informs us—at ride's end—"You do have wings. Eastern...we'll be your wings."

Space Mountain is more than a roller coaster. It is an unending commercial for RCA. Waiting for this attraction inevitably takes an hour or more; and the line conveniently passes a series of dioramas in praise of RCA's contribution to the space age. RCA's logo is everywhere, as is its theme: "Tradition on the move."

After the brief but energizing ride the commercial begins again. This time it's a hardsell for video-disc equipment. Escalators leaving the ride take you past a "home of the future."

It's a frightening, Vonnegut-like view of the future, in which

each family member seems to have gone beyond "me-ism," beyond narcissism and into advanced autism. Each family member is in his or her own room watching his or her own six-foot TV screen. Only the family's baby seems lost in this electronic torture chamber. It stands in its plastic playpen longing for a little human contact when all it has with it is a TV camera scanning the playpen, "an electronic babysitter," we're told. Dad's in the next room watching old Superbowl games. Mom's taking a lesson in making clay pots and occasionally watching—via TV—her perplexed little baby; one kid is pretending to ski in front of his TV screen, someone is doing some electronic shopping, and another is watching and listening to Blondie.

If this isn't enough, we get a chance to see ourselves passing by on closed-circuit TV. In all, the experience took us 40 minutes, 36 of them devoted to praise of RCA.

If anything, the commercial aspects of Disney World could be getting worse. In a museum-like hall called the Walt Disney Story, a shrine to Disney, a film gives us a glimpse of the mammoth future addition to the World, something called the EPCOT center. EPCOT stands for Experimental Prototype Community of Tomorrow and it's being hyped as a kind of space colony on earth where the latest technology will be tried ("growing food without soil") and displayed, and "nations and peoples of the world will stand and live side by side in friendship." The literature and 15-minute promotional film don't mention it but the representatives of these different nations will actually be Disney World employees, and if they don't live in harmony with their neighbors they can be fired—perhaps suggesting a vision of a Pax Disneyana that may end all our futile fighting and crazy arms races.

Represented in this "world showcase," as it's called, will be France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Mexico, the United Kingdom and that rookie member of the international harmony team, China. Israel, Iraq, Iran, the USSR, South Africa, Afghanistan and El Salvador will not be represented.

The land at EPCOT center will be sponsored by Kraft; the World of Motion by General Motors; the Universe of Energy will be presented by Bell Systems; the American Adventure is a joint venture of Coca-Cola and American Express; and the Journey into the Imagination—so sadly neglected in the World so far—will be presented by Kodak.

After seeing the promotional film, the audience applauded. The couple sitting behind me said, "Guess we'll have to make another visit. It's gonna be even more fabulous."

This occurred in the still-bright morning of our day at Disney World. At night, as we boarded the monorail to leave the "magic kingdom," people did not seem eager to make that return visit. People wanted out. A few even shoved others to get to seats. I left vowing never to return and wondering if anyone was ever murdered in Disney World. I don't wonder about suicides—those I'm sure of. ■

Hank De Zutter is a journalist who writes for the Chicago Reader and other Chicago publications.

There are no jogging paths in the Magic Kingdom. The rides are really tame little trips into fully-automated environments. Absolutely everything is done for you.



ART «» ENTERTAINMENT



BRITISH THEATER

Official culture defiled

Howard Brenton is a provocateur disguised as a playwright. His writing combines punk rock's audacity with the political consciousness of Bertolt Brecht, and the result is controversial theater. He has said, "My plays are written unreservedly in the cause of socialism."

A number of other socialist playwrights in Great Britain have achieved national recognition over the past decade. Some of them—Trevor Griffiths, David Hare and Caryl Churchill—have co-authored plays with Brenton. Most of these writers, even Edward Bond (who wrote the screenplay for Antonioni's *Blowup*) rarely see their plays staged in America.

Brenton was born in 1942 and studied at Cambridge before touring with the *Portable Theater*, an experimental "fringe" company that performed at universities and festivals in the early '70s. More recently he adapted Brecht's *Gallileo* for the National Theatre of Great Britain, which also staged two of Brenton's own plays, *Weapons of Happiness* and *The Romans in Britain*.

To explain his aims as a writer, Brenton once quoted American writer and director Luis Valdez (of *El Teatro Campesino*): "Inspire the audience to social action. Illuminate specific points about social problems. Satirize the opposition. Show or hint at a solution. Express what people are feeling." To these ends Brenton has written over 30 stageplays, TV plays and adaptations.

—Joel Schechter

By Richard Beacham

When *The Romans in Britain*, Howard Brenton's latest play, opened last October in the Olivier auditorium of the National Theater it led to prodigious controversy, and the most intense popular interest that British theater has engendered in years. The production was attacked and defended in Parliament and in the press. Plainclothesmen attended to determine whether charges should be brought. Local politicians thundered and the usual guardians of public virtue picketed outside the theater and staged protests during performances.

The first part of the play is set in Britain in 54 B.C., at the time of Caesar's invasion. It gives a brief glimpse of native society, and then depicts the conquering Roman soldiers in the process of brutally subjugating the Celts. Lest the audience fail to perceive any contemporary parallels, in the final moments of this part Caesar and his cohorts are suddenly transformed into modern British soldiers campaigning in Northern Ireland, come to "kick the shit out of your fucking country."

Part two takes place variously in modern Ireland and Britain of 515 A.D. In the earlier setting, the Romans and all but a few vestigial remnants of the culture they imposed have long since vanished. The Celts are now being subjugated by the Saxons. In the contemporary segments an English Army Captain, disguised as an Irish sympathizer, is captured and exposed by the I.R.A. A woman mocking him before putting him to death articulates the central point of the play: "What nation ever learnt from the suffering it inflicted on others? What did the Roman Empire give to the people it enslaved? Concrete. What did the British Empire give to its colonies? Tribal wars...Ireland's troubles are not a tragedy. They are the crimes his country has done mine."

In counterpoint to this, the final scene of the play returns to the 6th Century and Celtic refugees fleeing the Saxons. They console themselves with the fantasy of a king who ruled in peace and harmony. His name, they decide, was Arthur.

British idyll.

The play, if not breaking much new ground, did manage to tread on some highly sensitive subjects. Brenton deals with imperialism in the context of subject matter otherwise widely treated and intensely popular. The brutality of events and banality of language are used to debunk the popular conception of the past. The play is loaded with intentional anachronisms of language and incident, and the rapacious and degraded world which it conjures up is, in its contrivance, every bit as artificial and unhistorical, and as

much the projected imagination of the playwright as any rhapsody or idyll ever spun out of the Celtic mists.

The Romans in Britain is, however, a good deal less comely and charming than some previous idylls. Without notable exception, all the characters are brutish or violent, and their actions are predictably unattractive.

Much critical response was devoted to the play's nudity, violence, and sexuality. Early in the piece three young Druids, clad only in their long blond hair, sport upon the stage, casually killing and draining the blood from a fugitive Celt.

Howard Brenton, provocateur-playwright



found hiding on their land. A while later they in turn are confronted by Roman soldiers in Caesar's army. Two of the Druids are unceremoniously butchered, and the third is retained and subjected to homosexual rape. As defenders of the production were at pains to point out, it was, technically speaking, only attempted rape, but the incident remained a sore-point for some members of the audience.

Mary Whitehouse, Secretary

of the National Viewers and Listeners Association, an indefatigable campaigner for moral reform, and something of a national institution herself, consulted her conscience and sprang into action. In this instance she neither viewed nor listened to the play, but, nothing daunted, gave chase. "Do we have to be told that it is only attempted?" she asked, rhetorically one assumes. "This does not alter our objections. We are concerned that the play may encourage a very few people to go out and do likewise." She prosecuted the play under the Theater Act, 1968. This law, which marked the end of formal censorship by the Lord Chamberlain's Office (the first uncensored play, and arguably the last to cause a stir commensurate to the *Romans*' was *Hair*), stipulates that actions can be brought only if the Director of Public Prosecutions recommends it to the Attorney General.

His recommendation must reflect a conviction that the performance is obscene because "taken as a whole, its effect is such to tend to deprave and corrupt persons who are likely, having regard to all the relevant circumstances, to attend it." Accordingly, a squad of detectives duly visited the theater, and, on their advice, the play was deemed not to be obscene. Mrs. Whitehouse still wouldn't risk seeing the play herself, but, undeterred, she next laid a sum-

THE ROMANS IN BRITAIN spurred unprecedented controversy.

mons under the Sexual Offenses Act, 1956, against the production's director, Michael Bogdanov. The outcome of this action is still awaited. In the meantime the piece continued to play to full houses at the National. The Minister for the Arts, Norman St. John-Stevas, speaking in the House of Commons, observed: "Attacks on *The Romans in Britain* have only one effect—to fill the theater. I saw the play," (a ripple of Parliamentary laughter and cries of "attaboy, Norman") "I saw it in the course of duty. I think it was an extremely bad play, scatological and somewhat offensive."

There was no lack of enthusiasts ready to leap to defend the play. Geoffrey Strachan, Director of Methuen Publishers, argued in a letter to the *Times* that "theater criticism is the business of audiences, theater workers and reviewers who must surely agree (whether they see this play or not, like it or not) that it is *not* the business of politicians and policemen on duty." He considered *The Romans*' reception in light of that encountered by other, subsequently acclaimed works, by writers such as Pinter, Caryl Churchill, and Bond, and then concluded "audiences will experience danger and offense on occasion. If this is not permitted the theater will wither. A theater that is afraid of great failures will see no great successes."

Official culture.

Since 1968 a number of violent and provocative plays, as well as works with explicit sexual activity have appeared regularly on the British stage. That none was engulfed in anything like the level of controversy surrounding *The Romans* is surely due in part to the play's content. But what sparked off and sustained the critics' fire in this case was that the play was presented at the National Theater.

The National Theater has come to occupy a very significant place not only in Britain's theatrical life, but, given difficult times and the prevalent awareness of national decline, also as an icon representing the better aspects of British heritage. *The Romans* was seen by some as striking deeply at the nation's honor and values not only because of its subject matter, but also because the thing was perpetrated within the cultural Holy of Holies.

Sir Horace Cutler, the leader of London's municipal government.

Continued on page 23

Italy

Continued from page 9

Rega into exile in Madrid in 1976, such as former Navy chief admiral Emilio Masera and Gen. Carlos Suarez Mason, president of the state oil company. "Gelli was at home in Argentina," former undersecretary of defense Pasquale Bandiera has observed. "Gelli's connections were with the worst staff of the dictatorial power in that country."

There are disturbing parallels between Italy and Argentina that raise questions about the nature of the relationship between two such peculiar figures as Gelli and Lopez Rega.

When Peron returned to Argentina in 1973, Lopez Rega began applying the "two extremisms" strategy to destroy the left. Left-wing Peronist *montoneros* who went to the airport to hail Peron's return were attacked and massacred by AAA death squads. After several months of murderous attacks by the AAA, organized by police units but identified as "right-wing extremists," the *montoneros* went into hiding and turned to urban guerrilla actions. This enabled the armed forces to declare war on "left and right-wing terrorism," which in fact had the sole purpose of crippling the left so as to force Argentina to accept an exemplary economic policy, smashing working-class purchasing power, the domestic market and local industry, the better to thrust the nation, bound and gagged, onto the world market.

A few years earlier, in Italy, right-wing terrorists had begun provoking the left in what has been called "the strategy of tension," the opening stage of a two-extremisms strategy.

Meanwhile, in the mid-'60s, Gelli was initiated into Italian Free Masonry, over the protests of a few brothers who considered his Nazi leanings incompatible with Masonic principles. But Italian Masonry increasingly reflects the anti-communist panic of Italian emigrant communities that had struck it rich not only in the U.S. but in Argentina, Brazil and Venezuela. In May 1975 Gelli was given total authority over P2 while Masonic dignitaries ignored the protests.

The octopus revives.

Propaganda 2 is a peculiarly secret lodge founded 100 years ago by intriguing statesman Francesco Crispi for prominent sympathizers who were excused from the usual rites. Gelli is now being described as a self-made schemer, which evades the question of who gave him such authority and why. It is also unclear how or why Gelli managed almost immediately to recruit Gen. Giovanni Allavena, close collaborator of Gen. Giovanni De Lorenzo, chief of SIFAR, one of the intelligence agencies closed down a few years ago for involvement in crime and coup plotting. Allavena reportedly presented Gelli with SIFAR files full of gossip about leading public figures that proved extremely helpful in further recruiting.

Pasquale Bandiera, a Mason who claims to have opposed Gelli, has said in a newspaper interview that Gelli's game linked up with "that enormous corrupt power center that was SIFAR under De Lorenzo. SIFAR, like P2's tangle of interests and blackmail, succeeded in conditioning broad sectors of national life. Tapes, photos, informers, secret files, gossip, all with the single objective of guiding the course of events from the shadows. An octopus with ramifications everywhere that was decapitated and now is starting to move again, with all its devastating effects."

In Gelli's villa in Arezzo, police found 33,000 SIFAR files that the Italian parliament had ordered burned in August 1974. They had been collected by four generals (all P2 members) with a view to organizing a rightist coup d'etat. Possession of these papers was the basis of the original charge of espionage issued against Gelli. Other charges are expected to follow. In particular, investigating judge Domenico Sica believes Gelli may be linked to the March 1979 murder of

Mino Pecorelli, a journalist whose sensationalist weekly *OP* was fed by chosen leaks from Gelli's files. Three months before his death, Pecorelli had turned his veiled threat Mafioso style on Gelli himself with an article entitled "Finally the Truth on the Venerable Master of P2." Quoting other sources in a semi-credulous style, Pecorelli wrote that



The suspicion that intelligence officials have manipulated both "right" and "left" terrorism is widespread in Italy.

"Italian Masonry is said to be nothing but an emanation of the CIA." "Industrialists and financiers, politicians, generals and judges, swearing loyalty to Masonry, apparently joined in serving the CIA to prevent by any and all means the PCI from ever gaining access to the 'control room.'" Sica believes the purpose of the article was to blackmail Gelli. He has arrested former SID (another disbanded, scandal-ridden intelligence service) colonel Antonio Viezzer, whom Pecorelli called Gelli's "right arm."

The P2 list also includes former SID chief Gen. Vito Miceli, implicated in the 1970 coup plot by "Black Prince" Valerio Borghese and more recently elected to parliament by the neo-fascist Italian Social Movement (MSI). This was no surprise.

The surprise was to find the names of all the current intelligence chiefs: Gen.

Giuseppe Santovito, head of military intelligence SISMI; Gen. Giulio Grassini, head of civilian intelligence SISDE; and Walter Pelosi, secretary of the executive committee for information and security services (CESIS), which is supposed to coordinate the two. Moreover, a pending application for membership was found from Carabinieri general Carlo

Alberto Dalla Chiesa, in charge of operations against the Red Brigades. Another pending applicant was Justice Minister Adolfo Sarti.

Conspiracies and theories.

A totally hypothetical explanation for all these strange facts was offered two years ago by "situationist" Gianfranco Sanguinetti in an essay *Del Terrorismo e dello Stato*. Using historical analogy, precedent and deduction of causes by the effects they produce, Sanguinetti argued that "if for 10 years the grand merciless struggle, so glorified in words, against the terrorist monster has only made the monster grow bigger and bigger, that results from the grotesque fact that those who have always been in charge of that merciless struggle are the same secret services that have always inspired and

guided terrorism." Modern artificial terrorism, maintains Sanguinetti, was invented in Italy in 1969, for "the Italian bourgeoisie makes up in inventiveness what it lacks in competence. It was also the Italian bourgeoisie that invented fascism, which afterwards had such success in Germany, in Spain, in Portugal, wherever there was a working-class revolution to crush."

Sanguinetti argues that "in a period of troubles, what becomes indispensable to ruling power that does not want to be renovated is precisely the *elimination* of certain men, either because they are too compromised, or else because by wanting a 'renewal,' however slight, they arouse fear or distrust in certain ruling sectors; and the most reactionary sectors are always the best armed. Moro's openings were thus perceived as opposed to certain interests, and as a concession to change—despite the fact that historically it was precisely any change that such openings were trying to prevent." Thus Aldo Moro, the Christian Democrat leaning toward compromise with the PCI, was "the Italian equivalent of Allende."

Of course, the terrorists that get caught and "exhibited to the public like wild animals in cages" are real and believe in the cause they proclaim, but nothing is easier for secret police than to manipulate "naive fanatics," Sanguinetti insists. He makes the case that a secret network of capitalists and intelligence agents manipulated the Red Brigades into killing Moro in order to keep the PCI out of the Italian government.

Se non e vero, e ben trovato—it may not be true, but it makes sense. The suspicion, even the conviction, that sectors of the intelligence services have guided both "right" and "left" terrorism in order to weaken the left is widespread in Italy. The still incomplete revelations about Licio Gelli's strange lodge neither prove nor disprove such suspicions. The tangle of corruption, conspiracy and conspiracy theories is by now so dense that Italians have long since abandoned hope of ever knowing the truth—if such a thing exists.

Japan

Continued from page 11

"Beyond the constant tug-of-war with Washington, we have to assess for ourselves the real threats to Japan," says Hajime Nakano, a military analyst based in Tokyo. "Only then can we begin to consider the appropriate steps to be taken."

"Two scenarios always come up: a Soviet invasion of our islands, and the disruption of our sea lanes. Prime Minister Suzuki is a close follower of former Prime Minister Kahue Tanaka, who gives very little credibility to the idea that Japan is directly threatened by the Soviet Union. Suzuki himself recently said that Japan doesn't really face much danger from the north."

"As for the sea lanes," Nakano explains, "the most critical ones are the most vulnerable, stretching all the way to the Persian Gulf, past regions with unpopular and potentially unstable governments and through areas of international conflict, like the Iraq-Iran fighting. We have to ask ourselves whether or not a military defense of those sea lanes is even possible." Osamu Kaihara, former Defense Agency chief and retired chair of the National Defense Council, has concluded that a military defense of Japan's sea lanes is not possible. A number of other ranking military advisors agree.

Consequently, the Suzuki government—like those of Ohira and Fukuda before him—pursues a policy it calls "comprehensive security." The limits of military defense are recognized and compensated for by building strong economic ties to all the countries in the region. Japanese firms have been working with the Soviets to develop the vast Siberian treasure trove of natural resources, winning construction and engineering contracts worth billions and assuring access to a diversified source of raw materials. Mutually beneficial relations are expected to be a better defense, in the long run, than missiles

and submarines.

That approach can hardly please the Americans, who, as veteran economic writer Koji Nakamura observed nearly 10 years ago, want "a Japan strong enough to take over some of its regional defense commitments—but still very much under American control."

All during the Midway crisis in early June, the Japanese government reaffirmed that port calls by nuclear weapon-bearing American warships would indeed constitute a violation of Japanese law.

Then, as if on cue, three days after the Midway docked amid demonstrations and protests, Pentagon officials drily announced that beginning in 1982,

American attack submarines that regularly call at Yokosuka, Sasebo and other Japanese ports will be armed with nuclear-tipped Tomahawk cruise missiles.

As for the future, former Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda, on his return from a trip to Washington as advance man for the diplomatically inexperienced Suzuki, was asked what would become of the frustration American defense officials feel with Japan. His reply was simple. "It will grow sharper."

Fukuda didn't say just how sharp and how soon, but his forecast certainly has more of a ring of truth to it than the official optimism being voiced on both sides of the Pacific.

CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$20.00 for two insertions and \$10.00 for each additional insert, for copy of 40 words or less (additional words are 35¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of Bill Rehm.

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August 20-23

6th annual DSOC Summer Youth Conference. Join student, community and trade union activists from across the country in building the largest radical youth movement in the nation. Invited speakers include: Michael Harrington, Roberta Lynch, Ira Arlook, Ruth Messinger, Jim Weinstein, Horace Sheffield Sr. Cost: \$70 includes all meals & housing. Travel scholarships available— inquire now: DSOC, 853 Broadway, Suite 801, NY, NY 10003, (212) 260-3270.

CHICAGO, IL

August 22

Swingshift, a feminist jazz quartet on tour from the Bay area, will perform at Lincoln Park Presbyterian Church, 600 W. Fullerton, at 8 p.m., Saturday, Aug. 22. The concert is a fundraiser for Women Organized for Reproductive Choice (WORC) and Feminists

Against Militarism. Tickets at Jane Addams, Women and Children First, Guild Bookstore, New World Resource Center, or call Darlene, 427-2533. \$4-advance; \$5-door.

CORNWALL, CT

August 26-30

Left Economic Strategy for the 1980s: URPE (Union for Radical Political Economics) Annual Summer Conference at Camp Mohawk. Speakers include: Barry Commoner, Mark Green, Barry Bluestone, Sam Bowles, Joan Greenbaum, Judy Gregory, Carol O'Cleiracain, Anno Saxenian and Harley Shaiken. Must pre-register: URPE, 40 Union Square West, Room 901, New York, NY 10003. (212) 691-5722.

NEW YORK, NY

September 3-6

Annual meeting of the Caucus for a New Political Science will be all about feminism and socialism. At the New York Hilton. For more information contact: CNPS, 420 West 118th St., Room 733, New York, N.Y. 10027.

WASHINGTON, DC

September 26-27

First national conference of the National Coalition Against the Death Penalty at the 4-H Center. Speakers include Ramsey Clark and Coretta Scott King. For details contact: Anne Headley, 324 C St., SE, Washington, DC 20003, or call (202) 547-3635.

Drama

Continued from page 21
ment, the Greater London Council, attended the play's opening, and promptly expressed his disapproval in strong terms. Since the G.L.C. subsidizes the National Theater with

a yearly grant of 630,000 pounds, his opinions are more than duly noted, particularly since he went on to say that the piece would make it difficult for him to argue for next year's grant.

The controversy arises at a time when, along with practically everything else, the arts in Britain are being severely strained by worsening economic conditions. Attendance at the com-

mercial West End theaters has dropped alarmingly, and the major subsidized companies, the National Theater and the Royal Shakespeare Company, are also under a great deal of pressure. Parliament is soon to commence an official enquiry into the financing of the arts in Britain, and the outcome is anticipated with some trepidation, involving as it almost certainly must, a new rationale and

guidelines for dividing up relatively diminished resources. It may well turn out that the ultimate and unwelcome legacy of *The Romans* will not be a change in moral or artistic or political consciousness, but a less tolerant attitude toward the National Theater.

A final word: As this article was completed, arguments against *The Romans in Britain* were heard by a magistrate, and the

IN THESE TIMES AUGUST 12-25, 1981 23

play's director was released on bail. The case is to be adjudicated in the summer of 1981, and the play may have to be restaged for the court.

Richard Beacham teaches drama at the University of Warwick. This article first appeared in *Theater* magazine, where one of Brenton's newest plays, *Sore Throats*, was also published (\$3.50 per copy, Box 2046 Yale St., New Haven CT 06520).

CLASSIFIED

PUBLICATIONS

FREE SPEECH and racist agitation; when is a word a deed? A respected linguist on free speech. Zionism and the Holocaust—\$2.00. Clarity Press, 175 5th Ave., 11011, NYC, NY 10010.

GAY COMMUNITY NEWS—National weekly. News of Lavender Left; international gay news. Feminist, non-profit. \$2/12 issues. GCM. Dept. INT, 22 Bromfield St., Boston, MA 02108.

HOW CITIES CAN RECHANNEL capital to meet community needs. \$2. DSOC, 3308 Haring, Philadelphia, PA.

THE KIBBUTZ MOVEMENT TODAY ...and Tomorrow. Interview with Secretary General of Hashomer Hatzair kibbutzim. In the 10th issue of the democratic socialist quarterly *The New International Review*. Receive the 10th issue free with a one-year discount subscription—\$7.50. *The New International Review*, Box 128-A, Afula, Israel.

NUCLEAR FACTS: For the facts on nuclear power, order *Nuclear Fact Sheets* from the Nuclear Information & Resource Service. Topics: Nuclear Waste, Nuclear Dangers, Nuclear Costs, Uranium, Radiation & Health, Electrical Demand, Solar Energy, Conservation, 25¢/sheet; \$2/set. Write: NIRS, Publications Dept.-A, 1536 16th NW, Washington, DC 20036.

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© Walt Disney

IN HIS PROVERBS OF HELL, William Blake says that we never know what enough is until we've had more than enough. It is summer in this sweltering swampland and hot as hell. And I think after a day at Walt Disney World in this sprawling, garish, "vacation kingdom" in Central Florida, I have learned what enough is.

The tram-ride back to our cars is a little like a rush-hour subway, only worse. We've got our kids with us, and while we grimace, shove and jostle a bit, they're squalling, quarreling, fidgeting—their customary ways of expressing the same frustration eating away from their parents' hearts.

Something more tangible has also eaten away at our wallets and pocketbooks. Each of us—man, woman and child—blows an average of \$25 a day at what Disney promoters simply call "the World." A good portion of it goes for rides, and the blank, lukewarm food, but some is spent on those obligatory souvenirs, the T-shirts, flight bags, mouse ears and other mementos that give the wearers status at home and make their neighbors envious and curious enough to make the pilgrimage themselves.

Walt Disney World, as it appears to my weary eyes, is a total triumph of packaging over product, a real-life Oz where the real wizard has died and left a tape loop and holograph in his place. Not only does the Emperor wear no clothes—we have paid for his outfit.

Where else would people spend \$25 a day to spend most of their time standing in lines—1½-hour lines for roller coasters, 40-minute lines for a toddlers' ride on a plastic Dumbo, 25-minute lines for a lukewarm, dirt-dry hamburger, 15-minute lines for a pop-tart burrito. There is even a 10-minute line to buy mouse-ears. The lines start as soon as you park your car. You line up for the tramride; you line up to buy tickets; you line up to board the monorail or paddle-boat that

takes you to the Magic Kingdom; then you line up to pass into the park. That's four lines—about 15 minutes in all—before you even get in the park. On off-days or in the fall off-season, I'm told, there is little waiting. But on a typically busy summer day, my son Chris and I spent roughly half of our 10 hours at "the World" standing in line, waiting.

Some of the waiting time is helpful for planning your day at the park. And plan you must. It might seem a little like work or shopping on a busy Saturday morning, but you cannot simply float through a day at Disney World. Planning, efficiency and management skills are required here.

Displays of irreverence are rare at this vacation shrine. Most of these weary pilgrims seem to take the discomfort in stride. After a day at the "World," they do not look good; there is none of the warm afterglow of a fishing party or a group that played volleyball on a beach. But this was their day at the Big One. After waiting so long and spending so much, they'll be damned if we're going to go around acting like they've been ripped off. Besides, they have a camera full of snapshots and movies to look forward to—anticipation once again.

Disney World consciously evades the present. It offers us fantasy worlds of a whitewashed past and fabulous future—with its Main Streets and monorails. And to enjoy it, its visitors also must evade the present; we ask not what we are doing but "what's next?"

Our hyped anticipation starts well before we actually get in the park. As we approach it on U.S. Interstate 4 we become aware that Disney World is the centerpiece of a cluster of other "worlds" and attractions. Giant billboards, with graphics often bursting through the frames tell us of "Shell World," "Sea World," a fundamentalist "Christian Life World" and not merely a hotel but a "Hyatt House Hotel World."

The World doesn't need billboards to tout it. The official green, federally-

WAITING

The only thing

FOR

out of place in

GOOFY

the "magic kingdom"

BY HANK DE ZUTTER

is the people.

financed expressway signs work just as well.

The entrance is the biggest toll plaza in the world where we drop the first 50-cents a day for parking. The lot, itself, is an asphalt sea big enough to hold all of Disneyland, the World's more modest predecessor in California.

From our cars we head for the tram stop and after a few minutes, board the tram and head for the ticket booths. It is here, where we hear the first of those continuously chattering Disney World voices—dispensing information, propaganda and kind words of advice—whether we want to hear it or not.

But our day has just begun, so it's not that bad. And what a happy bunch we are. We converse pleasantly, exchange home towns, smile benignly at each other's children and check out the T-shirts: "Tennessee Baptist Senior Adults Have More Fun," "Here Comes Trouble," "Damn I'm Good," and a former Marine wears one with a stern eagle proclaiming "First to Strike."

After a couple more lines, we are swept into Disney World on Main Street where it is eternally the Fourth of July (with all the shops open). There are parades every couple of hours, a concert band in the park, horse-drawn street-cars, and fireworks every night. And it is here that you can see for the first time how everything at Disney World is so damn neat. Neat. Neat. Neat.

Listen closely to the conversations of visitors and you can't help but hear this ever-popular and all-approving word. Kids shout it with glee as they dash out of their parents' clutches: "Neat!" The parents and others use it with less force but more frequency: "Isn't that neat!"

Disney World is neat. So neat that its lawns look like Astroturf and its almost perfect flower beds look like the artificial flowers sold on Main Street. It is so neat there is no litter on the streets. It becomes a challenge to find something astray—a glob of bird-mess, a missing

Continued on page 20